REPORT RESUMES

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ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CLASS.
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IDENTIFICATION OF SOME OF THE VARIABLES THAT ENCOURAGE OR DISCOURAGE PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION AMONG MIDDLE-CLASS AND WORKING-CLASS MEN WAS THE BASIS FOR THIS STUDY. A COMMUNITY SURVEY WAS USED TO LOCATE A SAMPLE OF PARTICIPANTS AND NONPARTICIPANTS, AS WELL AS TO PROVIDE DESCRIPTIVE DATA ABOUT THE RATES OF PARTICIPATION. A MATCHED SAMPLE SURVEY WAS USED TO PROVIDE DETAILED DATA AS TO WHY SOME MEN PARTICIPATE AND OTHERS DO NOT. THREE MAJOR FACTORS WERE FOUND TO AFFECT PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION--THE LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION, AGE, AND TYPE OF LEISURE ACTIVITY. THE STUDY FOUND THAT PARTICIPATION IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION WAS A RATIONAL RESPONSE TO OCCUPATIONAL SITUATIONS. NONPARTICIPATION BY MANUAL WORKERS WAS FOUND TO RESULT FROM MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT ADULT EDUCATION. THE STUDY REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT SOME EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO IMPROVE THE UNDERSTANDING OF WORKING-CLASS BEHAVIOR AND VALUES AMONG ADMINISTRATORS AND TEACHERS WHO OPERATE PROGRAMS DESIGNED FOR WORKING-CLASS ADULTS. A FURTHER SUGGESTION WAS MADE THAT AN IMPORTANT CONDITION FOR INCREASING MOTIVATION AND INTEREST IN CONTINUING EDUCATION MAY BE IN DESIGNING WORK SO THAT IT REQUIRES FURTHER LEARNING. AMONG THE IMPLICATIONS ARISING OUT OF THE STUDY WAS THE POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE USE OF LEISURE TIME. (AW)

ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CLASS*

Cooperative Research Project No. 1017

By

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PART I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study was initiated because of our appreciation for the growing importance of adult education. In a world of complex technological, social, and political changes, early schooling is neither sufficiently detailed for the present nor adequately foresighted for the future. For example, a skill such as typing, introduced into high school curricula on a mass basis fairly recently, may already be outmoded in the near future by machines which automatically transcribe dictation into typed form. The mass media, and particularly the specialized media, try to keep people abreast of important changes, but their efforts are not too systematic. We suggest that adult education is coming to be one of the main institutional forms, among others, by which new information and new skills are promulgated(1). *

This belief is supported by the phenomenal growth of adult education during the last few decades. Educational activities have been conducted for adults throughout the history of Western Civilization(2), but the recent proliferation of educational programs has been startling. Malcolm Knowles estimates, on the basis of informed opinion and some published statistics, that enrollments have tripled during the last three decades(3). These enrollments involve large numbers of people. On the basis of a national survey, John Johnstone has calculated that about 17 million adults received institutionally sponsored instruction during a 12-month period in 1961-62. Another nine million were engaged in systematic self-education during this period, bringing the total participants to almost a quarter of the adult population(4). Johnstone further estimated that the number of participants would increase by about 50 per cent in the next twenty years, implying thereby that the rate of growth of adult education will considerably exceed that of the total adult population(5).

The financial resources devoted to adult education are as impressive as the enrollments. Harold F. Clark estimates that $10 billion is being spent yearly on the education and training of adults in the United States. This is twice the money being expended by all institutions of higher learning, public and private(6).

In spite of the size and growth of adult education, most of the attention which has been devoted to education has focused on the young. The existing dialogue about educational issues and problems is almost exclusively preoccupied with elementary, secondary, and higher education as these relate to the training of children and youth. This myopic disregard for adult education was recently illustrated in the Saturday Review, which devoted itself in one issue to characterizing the total educational enterprise in the United States in terms of attendance and resources, and in which adult education was conspicuously missing(7). This disregard is also exhibited in more professional circles, such as texts on the sociology of education, which similarly fail to treat education as part of the educational venture(8).

Although lamentable, this disregard is neither mysterious in origin nor Machiavellian in practice, but stems largely from the nature of adult education and its connection with the formal educational institutions. It is clear that the elementary, secondary, and higher educational institutions are generally regarded as the "legitimate" providers of education. The adult education which is offered by these institutions, in the form of evening classes and extension classes, is mostly composed of subjects which are part of their regular curricula. Thus, the adult classes are either remedial in intent, or they merely duplicate (in the case of University extension) the classes ordinarily given to the daytime students(9). It is easy to see how, given this situation, adult education seems to be "merely" an "extension" of the mainstream of educational activity, accompanied by a hint of the suggestion that if the regular educational institutions did their job properly, then adult education would not be necessary. In this view, adult education is a secondary educational activity, necessitated by gaps in the social arrangements of the formal institutions. Given this view, it is easy to overlook the independent contributions which adult education may make to society, and it is easy to overlook the existence of adult education altogether.

*All footnotes appear at the end of this Report, prior to the appendices.

A second reason for the lack of visibility of adult education is the fact that the majority of its programs are sponsored by non-educational organizations, such as churches, community organizations, business and industry, and government agencies (including the armed forces).(10). The instruction provided by these organizations is often conducted in the context of furthering their specific and "selfish" aims, rather than as a public educational service. Thus, these offerings may not be defined by the sponsors, or by the recipients, as educational. An example of such instruction is on-the-job training, by which a manufacturer might instruct a new employee in his specific and limited job. The expenses involved in such training may not be carried in the accounts as educational, and the training may be quite informal. Nevertheless, the expenditures on such activities are large, especially in plants with high turnover, and the benefits tend to be educational.

Even within the formal educational institutions there is a considerable amount of adult education hidden in the regular curriculum. For example, the in-service training of school teachers, and of other professional groups, is usually not counted separately as the education of adults, even though the courses are taken primarily by people of adult age and status. Junior colleges are particularly open to having adult students, and it is difficult to distinguish these statistically from youth who move into junior college directly from high school. In addition, many universities provide special programs of instruction for special groups of adults as part of their regular daytime curricula. One recent trend which illustrates this is the provision of re-training for college-educated women in their middle forties whose children have attained adulthood and who wish to refresh their previously attained knowledge in order to enter the labor market(11).

The marginality and relative invisibility of adult education is probably disturbed in the public mind only during periods of societal dislocation, when training is required which quite obviously could not be provided within the regular educational instutions. Several decades ago such an occasion arose when citizenship training was required for large masses of immigrants. Today, occupational obsolescence brings forth another special educational contingency, and laws such as the Manpower and Training Act of 1962 include provisions for the retraining of adults whose skills are no longer suitable in a changed labor market and a changing economy. Whenever such occasions of societal dislocation occur, the need for adult training becomes "obvious," and adult courses are publicized in the mass media. At the same time, of course, the mainstream of adult education continues and is, like the bottom nine-tenth of an iceberg, submerged from the public view.

The relative invisibility of adult education has both its advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantages are perhaps more obvious, especially if one is engaged in characterizing adult education in its totality. Since programs are so various and the sponsors so diverse, it is difficult even to define what should be included under the rubric of "adult education." We shall discuss this problem in a later chapter. The available research on adult education tends to be uncoordinated with research in formal education or with other research in the behavioral sciences, and thus discussions based on research often give the impression that adult education is an isolated phenomenon, having little connection with trends in the larger society. There tends to be a similar disjunction between the philosophy of adult education, stressing humanistic ethics, and the practice of adult education, which is heavily biased toward vocational and recreational training. Also, since adult education activities in their entire range and diversity are difficult to describe, they are also difficult to evaluate. Finally, the marginality and relative invisibility of adult education is a handicap to administrators of adult programs, because rationales for such programs are often not immediately obvious and financing is therefore a difficulty.

Despite these disadvantages and difficulties, the dispersed character of adult education has the great advantage of flexibility. This may be illustrated if we compare adult education to the institutions which educate the young. The latter, with their heavy investment in capital goods and technically trained personnel, with usually rigid administrative procedures and static curricula, tend to be fairly resistant to the pressures and demands of daily living. Their very solidity makes innovation difficult unless the value of new subjects or new teaching devices have been "proven" in other areas and by other institutions. Adult education, with its great flexibility, can experiment with new ideas and procedures, and can thus serve as a laboratory for the formal educational institutions(12). Similarly, adult education can shift rapidly and efficiently to meet new trends in the larger society, especially those which cause economic and social dislocations. Its decentralized character and the flexibility which stems from this dispersion of initiative is, indeed, the distinctive attribute which distinguishes adult education from other educational institutions.

Our interest in studying the clientele of adult education in Oakland, California, stemmed from our appreciation of the important contribution which adult education makes to the larger society, and the ways in which trends in society affect the character of adult education. Specifically, we decided to focus our attention on the relation between adult education and the condition of the less educated and less skilled groups in society.

There is a growing literature describing the operation of adult education agencies, their organizational practices, the character of their administrative personnel, and their programming. Much of this literature is in the form of case studies of different types of sponsoring agencies, such as Burton Clark's study of evening schools in California or the recent series of books on the operation of Great Books programs(13). In these studies there is a tendency to treat adult education from the vantage point of the sponsoring organization rather than from the perspective of the general population.

Our strategy was to approach the study of adult education from the side of the general public. We did conduct a survey of organizations in Oakland in order to obtain a general picture of the types of organizations which sponsor educational activities for adults (the results of this survey are presented in Chapter 3), but our major emphasis was placed on investigating the responses of the general public to the adult education courses being offered and to adult education in general.

Our purpose in this task was both descriptive and analytic. First, we wished to describe the wide variety of subjects, modes of instruction, sponsoring agencies, and types of clientele to be found in the adult education programs of a middle-sized city such as Oakland. We also wanted to provide a general picture of the interconnections between these elements, e.g., the extent to which certain types of clientele were to be found in specific types of courses. These descriptions are presented in Part II of this Report(14).

Secondly, we undertook a more analytic survey, using a matched sample of participants and non-participants (for the sampling design see Appendix 1), in order to trace the connections between adult education participation and various other facets of social life. Specifically, we wanted to investigate the links between participation and the types of vocations, jobs, leisure pursuits, prior school experiences, and other elements which characterized the participants and served to distinguish them from the non-participants. This analysis is presented in Part III of this Report.

Throughout this monograph we have placed a heavy emphasis on differences between the higher and lower socio-economic groups. Our interest in social class behavior and its connection with adult education stems from the growing problem of unemployment and underemployment in our society. The growing need for a trained and educated labor force has been reflected in a considerable advance in the educational level of the population. The median education for the entire labor force increased from about nine to 12 years of schooling in the 20-year period from 1940 to 1960. Yet, a considerable segment of the labor force does not have sufficient education nor the requisite skills to remain employed. The connection between low education and unemployment is demonstrated by the fact that the unemployment rate for high school drop-outs is twice that for high school graduates. It has now become a truism that an individual educated to less than his capacity has become an economic liability in our society.

The technological trends do not bode well for the uneducated person. For example, the projected increase in the labor force between 1960 and 1970 indicates no expected change in the need for laborers. Yet the reservoir of unskilled workers has been increasing, as evidenced by the fairly high percentage of high school drop-outs who are flooding the labor market in search of work which is increasingly difficult to find. Unemployment of long duration is increasing, and the situation may arise where a high proportion of workers, primarily among the unskilled, will be faced with the prospect of never being able to find work(15).

Coupled with the problem of unemployment is the fact that adult education primarily attracts a better educated clientele. As this Report will indicate, the level of formal education is the best single predictor of participation in adult education, in the sense that by knowing a person's level of education one can predict whether he is a participant with less chance of error than by knowing his occupation, income, place of residence, or race. The tendency is for those with more education to seek additional education, while those with less education tend to shun it. This finding, well substantiated in the literature (16), implies a need to rethink our perspective concerning the functioning of the educational establishment in our country. By emphasizing the education of the young, we fail to realize the potentialities for educating those adults who achieved badly in school, but whose subsequent work experiences might promote in them a new desire for and interest in education. With imagination, more creative programming, and appropriate facilities, it may be possible to increase the participation of working class adults in educational activities.

These were some of the thoughts which informed our research design. It was our expectation that the findings would provide information helpful to formulate guidelines to encourage adult educators to design programs more attractive to adults with low educational attainment (17). It is our belief that adult education agencies have a public responsibility to design programs for those not presently reached, and to make active attempts to incorporate underrepresented groups into their clientele. A harmonious and productive society results from the presence of enlightened leadership in all its diverse and often conflicting subgroups. Trade union leaders, minority spokesmen, the aged, and others of similar background have a great impact on the public body today, but are least touched by adult education and least exposed to programs designed for creating public leadership. Not only is responsible leadership important, but the pace of technological, political, and social change has made life-long learning a necessity for all individuals at all levels of society. In today's world, the vitality of any society is increasingly dependent on whether its people continue to learn.

One of the obstacles to attracting the lower socio-economic strata into adult education activities is the unfortunate habit many educators have of treating people according to their past educational performance, as if this were a perfect indicator of their future achievements. Lip-service is given to the belief that very few people ever fully utilize their abilities or come anywhere near the natural limit of their intelligence, but there is a tendency to falsely separate individuals into those who are "bright" and the rest who are "dull" or "ignorant," thereby freezing people into these categories. Anyone who is regarded and treated by enough people as "stupid" will act as if he actually were "stupid."

The view which has informed our research is considerably different. We believe that education can make the difference between people becoming more intelligent, more aware of their surroundings, more free to follow their own purposes, and their remaining apathetic, ignorant, and uninteresting. The static model of man, as fully socialized and cast in an iron mold on reaching adulthood, ignores the essential quality of the human being as a highly dynamic, self-generating organism who is limited more by his own definition of the situation than by any inherent biological characteristics. It was from this image of man that we sought to design this study.

Specifically, the research reported in this monograph dealt with the experiences, background, and perspectives associated with participation and non-participation in adult education programs by middle-class and working-class men. Limitations of time and finances forced our decision to restrict the study to a male sample, although our initial desire was to study both sexes. The over-all goal was to ascertain which parts of the population are most likely to participate in some kind of educational activity, what factors are influential in bringing these people into adult education, and the barriers which keep those individuals from participating who might be so disposed.

Related Research

While we refer to the research literature throughout the monograph, we would like to briefly discuss some related research that was particularly relevant to the formulation of our study.

As noted previously, middle class people are overrepresented among adult education participants as compared to their distribution in the general population. Brunner states categorically, "Participation /in adult education programs/ comes largely from those groups which are active in formal associations. . . . To a very large extent present adult education programs are educating the educated."(18) There can be little doubt that Brunner's appraisal is correct, with one possible modification--there is little evidence to suggest that those persons with the highest prestige are significantly active in adult education programs.

Middle class people also tend to be exposed to a greater variety of media for the diffusion of knowledge. The upper middle class groups are the most active users of libraries and museums and, with the exception of television, of the media of mass communications (19).

The evidence is both extensive and conclusive that middle class people are also overrepresented in most kinds of voluntary associations, both in the United States and in foreign countries where this relation has been studied (20). There are some variations, however, within the socio-economic strata. In a study on labor mobility in Oakland, California, Lipset and Gordon found that, among workers of roughly similar economic position, formal participation in voluntary associations was closely related to amount of education. Those with less than a high school education participated in lower proportions than those with more education (21).

People of low socio-economic status and with little formal education seem to prefer informal participation rather than formal activities of the adult education type (22). Adult education programs may fail to reach low-income groups because they have been largely unable to utilize existing patterns of working-class interaction. Axelrod's findings in Detroit, for example, show that the primary focus of social participation among the lower socio-economic groups is the family and the neighborhood, and this finding has been replicated recently by Gans' study of Italian-Americans in Boston (23).

Participation in organized educational programs seems in the past to have been viewed by adults as a means of getting a better job, increasing their income, and improving their social standing. For example, a functional anlaysis of an adult education program in Austria in 1932 showed that, while the manifest purpose of the participation of white collar workers was to increase their general knowledge, its latent function was to assimilate the intellectual amenities of the middle class (24). Yet there is evidence that lower-income groups tend to have a system of values and beliefs which negate efforts to improve one's social and economic position. As Hyman has shown, people in the lower socio-economic strata are less likely than their more fortunate peers to appreciate the value of higher education, and are more likely to seek positions which have the character of security (25). Chinoy, in his study of automobile workers, suggests that the American worker in general seems to be divesting himself of the idea that he can achieve social and economic advancement by his individual efforts (26).

These findings raise important questions about the composition of adult audiences for future educational programs. If adult education is no longer viewed as a path for upward mobility, then a large audience for adult programs may well disappear. However, the trend toward greater specialization of work skills may require a considerable clientele in vocational education designed to keep people abreast of new information so that they can be efficient in the jobs they already have. Even the blue collar worker may find it necessary to secure additional training to remain in the labor force.

Another part of adult education which may undergo considerable growth is instruction dealing with the fruitful utilization of leisure. In recent years there has been an upsurge in cultural interests, as witnessed by the phenomenal growth in the sale of books, concert tickets, serious music records, and the like. This suggests a new societal trend which will provide a potential audience for adult education activities of a generally cultural character.

Some studies are suggestive of the possibility that new educational motives may be coming into play. White, in an investigation of the different uses of leisure time among several socio-economic groups, found that the lower socio-economic groups rated community service activities highest. In contrast, the top socio-economic group placed greatest value on "lecture-study" activities (27). The latter finding seems to be supported by Davis' study of Great Books participants, who were overwhelmingly from the upper middle class (28). In conjunction, these findings hint at a possible change in values and participation patterns. Briefly, independent businessmen and professionals, formerly active in community services, may be replaced by the upwardly mobile lower-middle classes, while the upper-middle strata may shift from community service to educational and cultural activities. If widespread, this development will also have important implications for adult educators.

Our study, with its focus on the relation between social class and adult education, was intended to clarify and extend these observations.

Procedure

Our study was conducted over a period of about three years, from September 1, 1960 to December 31, 1963. To give the reader an image of the array of activities engaged in during this period, we present below a short listing of the various tasks undertaken. This list includes all activities which compelled our attention, including false starts and exploratory leads, as well as successes and failures.

1. Examination of the literature, while emphasized during the first year, was a continuous activity throughout the life of the project.

2. Redefinition and refinement of the research design and instruments occurred until the field work was undertaken.

3. Twenty-four depth interviews (2-3 hours) of a preliminary character were carried out with participants, non-participants, and adult educators.

4. A decision was made to restrict the study to male adults to provide greater homogeneity of the sample.

5. Secondary analysis of various national surveys of participation in adult education was undertaken to provide some comparative data for our study. A short report of this analysis is provided in Appendix 2.

6. A listing of approximately 2,500 organizations in Oakland was compiled, for the purpose of surveying these organizations to identify sources of opportunities for education designed for adults.

7. A preliminary sampling design was developed and a locator pilot study was undertaken for the following reasons:
   a. To determine whether house-to-house interviews, randomly prescribed, would be practical in view of the limited resources available. The sampling design posed special problems, because only a small proportion of the general population participates in adult education and we wished to obtain a fairly large number of interviews with participants, both from the working class and from the middle class.

   b. To estimate the costs of locating participants by a special locator survey.

   c. To obtain a basis for deciding whether special groups, such as Negroes and the aged, should be included in the final sampling list.

   d. To secure preliminary estimates of rates of participation by social class, age, and other characteristics.

8. As a result of this preliminary pilot survey, involving 605 interviews which identified 101 participants, a two-stage sampling design was formulated. Appendix 1 describes this final sampling design, which involved a first stage to locate participants and to provide descriptive information applicable to the City of Oakland as a whole, with a second stage consisting of a matched sample of participants and non-participants.

9. Following the preliminary pilot study, we requested a modest additional grant to increase the size of the matched sample from 600 to 1,600 interviews. The larger sample would have enabled us to (a) make more reliable projections from the sample of participants and non-participants to the population of Oakland; (b) operate within a somewhat broader definition of adult education, by enabling us to distinguish between those who choose formal as opposed to informal means to further their education; (c) provide enough cases so that we could make comparisons between more discrete subgroupings in the sample. We felt that 600 interviews would allow for accurate description, but would severly limit our ability to pursue explanatory objectives through an extended multivariate analysis. While this request was rejected, a small grant was provided so that we could follow the recommendations which resulted from the preliminary pilot survey.

10. A pilot questionnaire schedule was prepared from selected items in our preliminary interview schedule, and administered to four workers' education workshops. A total of 185

respondents completed questionnaires, which were used for further refinement of the interview schedule.

11. A pre-test of a questionnaire to be sent to organizations was conducted among a sample of Berkeley community organizations, and a final mail questionnaire was prepared.

12. Several questionnaires designed for a study of adult administrators and adult teachers were developed and pre-tested at several state-wide conferences of adult educators. Although a separate survey of administrators had originally been projected, limitations of resources and time resulted in dropping this phase of the study from our plans. The survey of organizations, to be discussed below, dealt with administrators, however, so that some information was gathered in this area.

13. A set of specifications for observation was developed, and the adult education activities of eight organizations were observed and recorded. While the original field work has been completed, the data were not analyzed in time to be included in this Report.

14. A content analysis of the publications, materials, and brochures distributed by a sample of adult education agencies was undertaken, but the final analysis was not completed in time to be included in this Report.

15. A 17-page questionnaire was mailed to 1,040 organizations in Oakland, 931 of these being delivered. The response rate was 61 per cent, and 28 per cent of the respondents stated that they offered some type of educational activity designed for adults. Part of these data furnish the basis for Chapter 3, although a major portion was not analyzed in sufficient time to be included in this Report.

16. A community survey, which contacted about 5,000 households, was completed with 2,709 adults interviewed. A total of 337 working class and middle class participants were identified in this survey. The sampling design is discussed in Appendix 1, and the results are presented in Part II of this Report.

17. A matched sample survey was completed, involving the interviewing of 599 adults. The sampling design is discussed in Appendix 1, and the results are presented in Part III of this Report.

18. A description of the City of Oakland was written, to serve as part of the contextual background for our study. A highly condensed version of this description is in Chapter 2.

19. During our analysis of the results from the matched sample survey, a national Gallup Poll of leisure time activities was released to the newspapers. This poll included a question on participation in adult education, and we obtained the original data to add to our analysis of the relation between adult education and other leisure pursuits. This analysis is presented in Part III of this Report.

20.

Table I-1

Summary of Interviews and Questionnaires Completed

	Interviews	Administered Questionnaires	Mailed Schedules	Total
Preliminary depth interviews	24			24
Pilot Locator Survey	605			605
Pretest of interview schedules	22			22
Community survey	2,709			2,709
Pretest of interview schedules	24			24
Workers' education workshops		185		185
Adult education administrators	12	100		112
Adult education teachers	9	40		49
Pretest of mail questionnaire	4		30	34
Questionnaire of organizations			565	565
Matched Sample Survey	599			599
Totals	4,008	325	595	4,928

21. A variety of attitude items in the matched sample survey were intended as indicators of values and psychological states. These included the extent of anomie, status needs, life satisfactions, self-righteous complacency, hedonism, loneliness, etc. (Copies of the questionnaires are presented in Appendix 4). An analysis of these items as they related to adult education participation was undertaken and the results were negative. These items were not included in the analysis of the matched sample results presented in Part III of this Report, but a short discussion of them is to be found in Appendix 3.

22. A variety of papers were prepared for delivery to sociological meetings and publication.

    a. "Attitudes toward Adult Education by Social Class," delivered to the Session on the Sociology of Leisure and Popular Culture, Fifth World Congress of Sociology, Washington, D. C., September 1962.

    b. "Some Reflections on Defining Adult Education," Survey Research Center Monograph No. M8, March 1963.

    c. "Leisure Styles and Adult Education," delivered to the Session on the Sociology of Leisure, American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, August 1963.

    d. "Obstacles to Blue Collar Participation in Adult Education," a chapter prepared for William Gomberg and Arthur B. Shostak (eds.), The Blue Collar World (Prentice-Hall, in press).

Brief Discussion of Chapters

The three chapters in Part I of this Report are intended to provide some of the background information for the research in which we engaged. Chapter 2 provides a description of the City of Oakland, so that the reader may get a sense of the type of city it is and how it fits into the larger Bay Area community. Such a description may also be useful if generalizations are to be drawn to other cities of similar size and character. Chapter 3 presents some descriptive materials derived from the survey of organizations, and is intended to outline the opportunities for adult education which exist in Oakland.

Part II of the Report, consisting of several chapters, presents the basic description of the patterns of participation in adult education in Oakland and the interrelations of these patterns. This description is based on a sample which is fairly representative of the population in Oakland (the sampling design is described in Appendix 1).

Part III, also consisting of several chapters, has a more analytic and theoretical discussion of participation and how it is related to the various areas of an individual's life. This part of the Report treats participation as a general phenomenon, and also relates adult education participation to the work situation, to leisure pursuits, and to prior educational experiences. Part III ends with a section on the impressions which participants have regarding the adult education activities in which they engaged. The entire discussion in this part of the Report is based on a sampling design consisting of a matched sample of participants and non-participants (the design is described in Appendix 1).

Finally, Part IV presents a summary of the findings, our conclusions regarding their significance, and some suggestions about their possible application to the policies of adult education administrators. The four appendices which follow describe the sampling designs, discuss some secondary analyses which were undertaken with national surveys on adult education, and present the questionnaires used in this study.

Chapter 2: Oakland, A City of Promise

Early History

When California was ceded to the United States at the end of the Mexican-American War, the territory was largely unknown to the rest of the country. The cessation of war encouraged interest in the western state, but it was the discovery of gold in the Mother Lode Country north of Sacramento that really triggered mass migration. San Francisco, a city of 35,000 in 1849, was the major urban settlement in California, but many newcomers recognized the potential of what is now the Oakland area and sought to convert the essentially rustic region into a city. The attractiveness of the land opposite the City--the area now built up as Oakland--beckoned hundreds to settle there.

The Oakland area provided a beautiful site for a city, with ample level lands to make building easier than in San Francisco. There was even the possibility that Oakland could initially have become the major urban settlement instead of San Francisco, except for a sand bar that protruded over a mile into the bay and made approach from the sea inaccessible for ocean shipping.

The land now occupied by Oakland and other East Bay cities was ceded by the Mexican Government through its Governor of California to Don Luis Maria Peralta in 1820 in recognition of his service to the Government of Mexico in California. The area, called Rancho San Antonio, remained for the most part unworked and unexploited by the Peralta family. In 1842 Peralta Senior legally divided the land among his four sons who finally settled there. Two of the sons may have settled Rancho San Antonio as early as the 1830's, first for agricultural purposes and then to build a thriving lumber business out of the redwood trees covering the Oakland hills.

New settlers continued to pour into the East Bay Area. Although the Peralta brothers, in their desire to retain the rural character of their holdings, tried to resist the newcomers, they were powerless to stop the vigorous assaults upon their property by trespassors illegally squatting upon the land. The situation of 1850 in the Oakland area was characterized as ". . . the classic example of the shady real estate operation, brought off at a time when rancho owners /Peralta/ seemed rather helpless in the face of trespassors, squatters, and conniving attorneys." (1) The most colorful of the squatters was Horace W. Carpentier, a shrewd lawyer in partnership with two other newcomers, who contended that the owners did not have legal claim to the land. The basis for the claim was that the Oakland area rightfully belonged to the United States Government and, as public land, was available for settlement. Although the Supreme Court subsequently ruled in favor of the Peraltas, the case remained in the courts for years while Carpentier and others succeeded in making profits out of their illegal action.

The father of Oakland, Horace Carpentier, and his partners initially leased land from Vincente Peralta and invited a city planner to come in and develop a town plan. Although they did not have legal title, the group sold land as if they did. Even the name of the town was changed from Encinal de Temescal to Oakland (a translation of Encinal) under Carpentier's influence. With a new town plan and name, the legislature incorporated the area as the Town of Oakland in 1852. Two years later, the statute was repealed and a second incorporated Oakland as a city. A city government was established and Carpentier was elected its first mayor. An ordinance was enacted awarding Carpentier sole ownership of the Oakland waterfront, an action which involved the City of Oakland in a legal battle until 1911, when it was able to fully secure ownership of the area.

The Oakland beginning is similar to that of many other American cities which arose as land speculators came in, created paper towns, and then sold plots of land to prospective settlers. The city was an "easy sell" because of its natural beauty, good climate, location on the Bay, and proximity to San Francisco.

Oakland continued to grow at a fairly rapid pace until it became the second largest city in California by 1879. A comparison of the growth of a few California cities (Table I-2) indicates the city's progress during the first three decades of its existence. One of the reasons for this progress was the successful effort to have the cross-continental railroads build their termini within Oakland. The choice of Oakland by the railroads resulted from its location on the Bay, its proximity to the fertile agricultural hinterland, the availability of two short line railroads

Table I-2

Population In Selected California Cities, 1849-1879

City	Population Size				Percent Increase		
	1849	1859	1869	1879	1849-59	1859-69	1869-79
OAKLAND Area	100	4,849	13,920	42,628	745	190	206
San Francisco	34,870	56,802	149,473	233,959	63	163	57
Sacramento	8,000	13,785	16,283	21,420	72	18	32
San Jose	3,500	4,579	9,089	12,420	31	98	37
Los Angeles	1,610	4,385	5,728	11,183	172	31	95

Source: Edgar J. Hinkel and William E. McCann, (Editors), Oakland 1852-1938, (published by the Oakland Public Library as an official report of a Works Progress Administration Project, 1939) in two volumes, p. 826. From the report of the U. S. Census Bureau, 1850, pp. 338, 393; 1860, p. 29, 191; 1970, p. 89; 1880, p. 107, table IX; 1890, pp. 370-373.

already in operation, the closeness of San Francisco, and the potential development of the Oakland waterfront area. City fathers, spurred by local businessmen, provided a number of inducements to the railroads to locate in Oakland, including passage to and concession of lands near the waterfront for their facilities.

The coming of the railroad brought capital, skilled artisans, businessmen, and others who were needed to build a city and to create a metropolitan area. As the city grew, services began to expand. Streets were paved, banks opened, hospitals were built, a public library was created in 1868, newspapers were established, a public school system was expanded, and horsecars were replaced by steam dummies and electric streetcars. East Bay is said to have had "one of the most extensive electric railroad systems in the entire United States" (2) during this period of growth. Indeed, the development of transportation branching out from Oakland near the end of the last century contributed to a dispersion of the population that foreshadowed the urban sprawl which exists today.

Oakland had its share of imaginative leaders who visualized it as a great metropolitan center. Some of these men contributed to the "Greater Oakland Movement" that led to many civic improvements in the early 1900's. In 1905 the city council contracted for the development of a plan for the beautification of Oakland. Charles Mulford Robinson, the planner, pointed out that while Oakland had one of the most beautiful natural settings for a city in the world, no effort had been made to exploit this landscape (3). He recommended not only a park around Lake Merritt, but a system of parks to be developed in the foothills east of the city. Part of Robinson's recommendations were incorporated in a bond issue and were supported by a majority of the electorate. Due to prior defeats of bond issues for city improvements, the Oakland Tribune commented, "The citizens had at last broken the bonds of conservatism and village tradition." (4) The momentum created by the passage of the bond issue resulted in the purchase of lands for parks and also encouraged the City Council to appropriate money to dredge Lake Merritt and create a park commission (5).

As the city fathers and enlightened Oakland businessmen perceived it, the 1906 earthquake provided Oakland with its opportunity to surpass San Francisco and to become the outstanding city of California. It has been estimated that the city sheltered over 100,000 people in the week following the quake. Many of these San Franciscans were businessmen who sought to re-establish themselves, and their resettlement might have become permanent, in accord with the dream of the city fathers, if Oaklanders had welcomed the refugees. However, landlords, real estate speculators, and others victimized the refugee San Franciscans. A leading merchant of Oakland complained at the time:

> I have met representatives of all the large California and eastern wholesalers. . ., and to my great sorrow they had but one story to tell, viz: that the landlords and property owners had entered upon a policy of cinching them to such a point that they are already thoroughly disgusted with this side of the bay.

> For years we have been trying to lure the people of San Francisco to this side of the bay, and during the past three years we have been to some extent successful. Now is our grand opportunity and we are throwing it away (6).

An Oakland newspaper added its concern.

> Early in August no less than two hundred of the refugee San Francisco business enterprises returned to the reviving city on the Peninsula; and the Enquirer bitterly accused 'certain land owners' of having betrayed the city by raising rents and attempting to sell factory and warehouse sites for exorbitant prices (7).

Whether Oakland missed its opportunity to surpass San Francisco is a moot point that will never be settled. But the earthquake did prove to be the stimulus that made Oakland into a large and industrial city. The population jumped 124.3 per cent in the decade from 1900 to 1910, and a new image of Oakland began to emerge as a robust industrial giant with a splendid future.

Characteristics of Population

Much of the optimism about the potential of Oakland to become a major American city has been based on its very rapid population growth during the first century of its existence. As noted above, the population reported in the 1910 census reflected a turning point in the growth of the city as a major manufacturing and business center. Oakland continued to grow at a substantial rate, with the exception of the depression decade, until the reported decline in the 1960 census (Table I-3). This loss of population, reversing a hundred year trend, is a phenomenon common to many older central cities throughout the country. In the greater Bay Area, the older cities of Oakland, San Francisco, Berkeley, Richmond, and Alameda lost population between 1950 and 1960, while such newer cities as Hayward, San Leandro, Sunnyvale, San Jose, San Mateo, Palo Alto, and Santa Clara increased their population. The attractions of suburban living are usually cited as the main reason for the decline of population in the central cities. However, the deterioration of housing facilities may also be a major factor, as well as the rapid influx of non-whites into areas where they may find housing. As deterioration increases in cities like Oakland, we may expect an even greater loss of population unless all living conditions are vastly improved.

Table I-3

Population Change in Oakland, 1854-1960*

Year	Population	Percent Change
1854	500	-
1860	1,543	324.0
1870	10,500	380.5
1880	36,500	229.1
1890	48,590	40.9
1900	66,690	37.5
1910	150,174	124.3
1920	216,261	44.0
1930	284,063	31.4
1940	302,163	6.3
1950	384,575	27.3
1960	367,548	-4.4

*The figures in this table are somewhat different from those in Table I-2 because in the latter the figures refer to Oakland and its immediate surroundings.

Source: Edgar J. Hinkel and William E. McCann, (Editors) Oakland 1852-1938, p. 367 and Bureau of the Census, City and County Data Book, 1954 and 1962.

The character of Oakland can be illustrated by comparing it to San Francisco and to the greater Bay Area. It is obvious that the two central cities of Oakland and San Francisco are considerably different from their more recently developed neighbors. Their population tends to be older, more densely settled, have a significantly higher proportion of non-whites, and are declining in numbers. (Table I-4)

Table I-4

Selected Characteristics of the Population of Oakland, San Francisco, and the SF-Oakland SMSA, 1960

Characteristics	Oakland	San Francisco	SF-Oakland SMSA*
Population per square mile	6,935	15,553	840
Population change, 1950-60	-4.4%	-4.5%	+24.2%
Proportion non-white	26.4%	18.4%	12.5%
Proportion under 5 yrs. old	9.5%	7.9%	10.3%
Proportion 21 yrs. or more	67.4%	71.8%	63.8%
Proportion 65 yrs. or more	12.5%	12.6%	9.0%
Median age	35.7	37.3	31.8

*The San Francisco-Oakland SMSA is a statistical unit used by the Bureau of the Census, comprised of the six counties in the greater Bay Area. The figures above include both San Francisco and Oakland.
Source: Bureau of the Census, City and County Data Book, 1962.

Family income and education also differentiate the two central cities from the other urbanized areas in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area. Oakland's population has more than its share of poor families, and a lower proportion of families with incomes over $10,000. Its population is also less educated, with over 50 per cent of the adults having failed to complete high school. (Table I-5) These comparisons point to an emerging social pattern in which there are sharp differences between older communities and the more recently developed outlying cities in income, age composition, level of education, and racial characteristics.

Table I-5

Family Income and Educational Characteristics of Oakland, San Francisco, and the SF-Oakland Urbanized Area, 1959-1960*

Characteristics	Oakland	San Francisco	SF-Oak. Urban Area
Proportion whose income is under $3,000	17.3%	13.5%	12.0%
Proportion whose income is $10,000 or more	19.7%	22.6%	24.3%
Median income	$6,303	$6,717	$7,073
Proportion with less than 5 yrs. of schooling	7.2%	7.4%	5.6%
Proportion who completed high school	45.9%	51.0%	53.6%
Proportion who are college graduates	8.3%	11.1%	11.8%
Median yrs. of schooling	11.4	12.0	12.1

*The data on family income is for 1959; the data on education is for 1960, and refers only to people 25 years of age or older.
Source: Bureau of the Census, City and County Data Book, 1962.

The pattern of growth of central cities throughout the country, particularly in northern cities, is toward a high concentration of non-whites. Long run trends would indicate that

Oakland will continue to expand its non-white population and will become a refuge for the economically deprived, the relatively uneducated, and the elderly.

Most of the non-white population in Oakland is Negro, and this Negro constituency has grown considerably in recent years. In 1930 and 1940, Negroes constituted 2.6 and 2.8 per cent of the population. The percentage jumped sharply to 12.4 in 1950 and 22.8 in 1960. Although Oakland suffered a loss of 4.4 per cent of its total population between 1950 and 1960, its Negro population increased 75.8 per cent during the same period. While a segregation pattern certainly exists, Negroes are moving out of the ghetto in West Oakland to the areas along the shoreline, to the north, toward the east, and a few into the more desirable hill sections. Nevertheless, the Negro continues to be restricted to essentially one-third of the city, with 86.2 per cent concentrated in 36.1 per cent of the census tracts of Oakland (8).

The trend toward an increasing Negro population has a number of implications for the kinds of services which Oakland must provide its citizens. Since non-whites have, on the average, less education than whites, there will be a growing need for the improvement of existing educational services for adults. As Table I-6 indicates, the gap between the educational attainment of Negro and white adults is fairly large in Oakland, and Negro education is considerably less than that reported for the entire State of California.

Table I-6

Educational Attainment of White and Non-White Persons 25 Years and Older in Oakland and the State of California, 1960

Level of Education	Oakland			California
	White	Non-White	Total	Total
0-5 years	5.6%	13.0%	7.2%	5.7%
5-8 years	25.2	31.2	26.5	22.6
1-3 years high school	19.4	24.1	20.4	20.2
High school graduate	28.3	19.9	26.5	28.3
1-3 years college	11.9	8.2	11.1	13.4
4+ years college	9.6	3.6	8.3	9.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: U. S. Census, San Francisco-Oakland Census Tracts, 1960.

Contrary to public prejudices, Negroes have always placed a high value on education. As Baker remarked around the turn of the century, Negroes "will submit to all sorts of inconveniences in order that their children may get an education." (9) Similarly, Myrdal noted that "the masses of Negroes show even today a naive, almost religious faith in education." (10) Despite this favorable motivation, Negroes have been limited by segregation, discrimination in occupational opportunities, and their generally low income.

Educational facilities and the quality of teaching personnel in the slum schools, where a high proportion of residents are non-white, have also been inadequate. Given this situation, Oakland has a responsibility and opportunity to raise the educational attainment of its Negro residents by improving the quality and quantity of its educational services. The potential which resides in adult education must be exploited far beyond the existing commitment of the Board of Education to adult education generally and to its economically deprived citizens in particular. It has been estimated that Negroes will constitute a majority of the Oakland population within this century. Unless improvement of educational services for the presently undereducated receives high priority, Oakland's technological resources will diminish and the work force will not possess the skills to maintain the changing economic structure.

Economic Activity in Oakland

The economic activity of a city is usually an important indication of its vitality. The following section provides a short overview of the major economic areas in Oakland--manufacturing, wholesaling, retailing, and selected services.

Manufacturing

By the turn of the century Oakland held a position of considerable importance, but it was the period of opportunity following the 1906 earthquake that propelled Oakland into a position as a major manufacturing center. The value of Oakland's manufactured products increased by 147.8 per cent from 1904 to 1909, and Oakland joined San Francisco as the second major manufacturing center in the state. Since 1909 both cities have lost their earlier positions of dominance, both within the state and within the Bay Area, as other manufacturing centers have also grown rapidly. However, Oakland's relative decline has been less than San Francisco's, and Oakland has maintained a fairly stable position as a Bay Area manufacturing center over the past fifty years (Table I-7).

Table I-7

Proportion of the Manufacturing Labor Force in the SF-Oakland SMSA Contributed by San Francisco and Oakland, 1909-1958

	1909	1929	1939	1947	1954	1958
OAKLAND	16.6%	17.5%	15.7%	15.6%	13.9%	13.6%
San Francisco	67.9	42.5	35.8	36.0	23.6	22.3
Remainder of SMSA	15.5	40.0	51.5	48.4	62.5	64.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Computed from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Manufactures: 1910, 1929, 1939, 1947, 1954, and 1958.

The common image of Oakland as more of an industrial town than San Francisco is supported by the facts. Oakland has 20.5 per cent of its total labor force engaged in manufacturing as compared to San Francisco's 16.4 per cent. In addition, Oakland is a dominant center of manufacturing within Alameda County. With 40.5 per cent of the population, Oakland has 48.0 per cent of the manufacturing employees in the county. Finally, as Table I-8 indicates, Oakland has a higher proportion of its labor force in blue collar work than does San Francisco. However, while the image of Oakland as an industrial, blue collar city is valid within the context of the Bay Area, Table I-8 also shows that its proportion of blue collar workers is less than the national average. Compared to some other cities of comparable size and location, such as Gary, Indiana or Newark, New Jersey, Oakland represents a relatively middle-class environment.

Table I-8

Occupational Distribution of Employees in Oakland, San Francisco, SF-Oakland SMSA, and the United States, 1960

Occupational Group	Oakland	San Francisco	SF-Oakland SMSA	United States
White collar	50.1%	56.8%	54.7%	42.3%
Blue collar	36.2	28.0	33.3	39.6
Service workers	13.7	15.2	12.0	11.8
Farm workers	-	-	-	6.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Computed from U. S. Census, Characteristics of the Population, California, 1960 and Manpower Report of the President, U. S. Department of Labor, 1963, p. 201.

Other Business Activity

One of the major functions of a central city in a metropolitan area is to provide wholesale and retail services to its own population and to outlying communities. Within Alameda county, Oakland accounts for 69.5 per cent of all sales from wholesaling, although falling significantly behind San Francisco as a wholesale center. In terms of the number of wholesale establishments per 1,000 population, San Francisco has a ratio of 4.1, Oakland is 2.5, SF-Oakland SMSA is 1.8, the Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA is 1.6, and the State of California and the United States are 1.5. Oakland maintains a significant role as a wholesaling center, mainly in serving East Bay communities.

Retail trade tends to be less concentrated because of its practice of following population into outlying areas. Nevertheless, central cities like Oakland and San Francisco provide specialized retailing services which partly accounts for the fact that they have a slightly higher proportion of retail sales per 1,000 population than outlying communities. Oakland tends to be dominant in the East Bay, where it is the central city, although the trend in retailing appears to be in the direction of greater decentralization.

Hotels, business, repair, recreation, amusement, and personal services tend to be concentrated in the two central cities, with San Francisco and Oakland accounting for over two-thirds of the total receipts for the metropolitan area. In this sphere, however, San Francisco is considerably more dominant than Oakland.

Journey to Work

A persisting impression is that Oakland continues to be a bedroom community of San Francisco. In 1960 the census provided data for the first time about commuting to work in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Statistical Area (six counties), and only 8.2 per cent of Oakland residents commute to jobs in San Francisco. Very few employees reverse the Bay Bridge commuting pattern by living in San Francisco and working in Oakland. Most of the San Francisco employees live there, with San Mateo furnishing the largest number of workers from outside the city. In contrast, Oakland attracts its workers from a variety of communities, although almost 70 per cent live and work within the city (Table I-9).

Table I-9

Journey-to-Work Patterns in the SF-Oakland SMSA, 1960

Place of Work	Place of Residence Oakland	 San Francisco	 SF-Oak. SMSA
OAKLAND	69.9%	0.9%	15.7%
Rest of Alameda County	18.9	0.8	16.7
San Francisco	8.2	94.0	39.5
Contra Costa County	2.3	0.2	9.7
Marin County	0.1	0.5	3.5
San Mateo County	0.4	3.5	10.6
Solano County	0.2	0.1	4.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census, Detailed Characteristics of the Population, California, 1960.

The prevailing notion that a large metropolitan region attracts its workers from the entire area and can be treated as a single job market is not valid. The Director of the Census, in a recent interview, remarked that he was "much intrigued, for example, in looking over one of the census reports to see how relatively few of the people who live in Nassau and Suffolk counties go into New York to work. . . . They work right here where they live."(11) The pattern of living and working in the same city seems to be dominant.

However, a minority of workers does commute in and out of the central cities. As the fringe areas expand their industrial, retail, and service activities, the commuting from the central city outward becomes more prominent. This expansion of job opportunities in the fringe areas creates a special hardship for non-whites, because discriminatory housing practices are particularly prevalent in the suburbs and they are hard pressed to find living accomodations near their work. While the majority of workers commuting outward from the central city are white, non-whites are overrepresented among these commuters 2 1/2 times their normal representation in the labor force(12). Presumably if discrimination in housing were eliminated, there would be a considerable reduction in the commuting pattern for non-whites.

Education in Oakland

A demand for education began at the time of the incorporation of the Town of Oakland in 1852. Negotiations were conducted with Horace Carpentier for a school in lieu of payment for waterfront rights, but the school which resulted was of dubious character:

> In the opinion of Horace Carpentier it was a 'substantial, elegant and commodios' schoolhouse; in reality, it was hardly better than a shack--a mere gesture of compensation to the city fathers and the people for vast water-front rights granted by them to this shrewd city father (13).

The schooling which existed during the 1850's and 1860's was completely inadequate. John Swett, Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1863, reported that he ". . . found children seated on boxes and others on the teachers' platform." (14) A teacher publication made this appraisal:

> In the shade of all these flourishing private schools, the little public school of Oakland has been so lost sight of, that it barely manages to maintain a precarious existence. How it fares, nobody knows and nobody cares. We found a small house, capable of accommodating forty pupils, literally swarming with one hundred and twenty children. They were seated all around and on the teacher's platform; they were stowed away like cord wood in a little hall or entry way; and the poor female teacher was literally like the old woman in a shoe, 'she had so many children she didn't know what to do.' (15)

This kind of criticism increased interest and no doubt contributed to the improvement of school facilities.

Part of the original difficulty in securing funds for an adequate system arose out of a prevailing notion that free schools were really charity schools for those who could not afford to pay fees for attendance. During the 50's and 60's many private schools functioned in and around Oakland to service children from families who could pay tuition. However, some of the newcomers who settled in Oakland came from New England and therefore carried with them a tradition of free, tax-supported primary education; this conviction greatly influenced the subsequent development of elementary education in the city.

Public secondary schooling was not provided until 1869, although the state legislature appropriated funds for high schools as early as 1851. San Francisco, Sacramento, San Jose, and Vallejo all opened public high schools before Oakland. Evening classes were first held in the Oakland schools in 1876, but the expansion of facilities for the education of adults took place only after 1900 when specific evening schools were established (16).

Contra Costa Academy opened in Oakland in 1853 as a boarding school for boys; it was advertised as the "Scientific and Classical School at Contra Costa." (17) This academy was chartered as the College of California in 1855, but no college classes were offered until 1860. The difficulty of securing land for the Contra Costa Academy, later to become the College of California and in 1869 the University of California, was to be expected, considering the chaotic real estate conditions of the time. President Gilman of the University of California wrote about some of these problems:

> Just at this time the 'jumpers', as they were called--a certain order of squatters--assembled in pretty large numbers at the end of Broadway, two or three hundred of them. It seems a plan had been arranged, and they had been gathering in small numbers until there was a large crowd of them. They were discussing, haranguing and working themselves up to a point of taking possession of all the unoccupied grounds in Oakland. Learning what they were about--that they were about to take possession of the various lands of the city and divide them off by drawing lots, giving each one something--I went down into that crowd, took off my hat, got their attention somehow, and proclaimed that negotiations were pending for the purpose of securing four blocks that had been selected for the purpose of building a college. A motion was made that three cheers be given for the coming college. A committee

> was appointed to take charge of these four blocks, to keep them safe from any interference from any quarter, and to hold them sacred to the use for which they had been voted. (18)

It was on the land that the squatters helped secure for the buildings used by the College of California, later to be utilized by the University of California, that made it possible for the Contra Costa Academy to offer college work in 1860.

Oakland was the location of a large number of colleges after 1870. The concentration of institutions of higher learning caused many to refer to Oakland as the "Athens of the Pacific." While many of these institutions have merged, moved, or disappeared, the tradition of Oakland as a center of higher learning continued for several decades prior to the twentieth century. At that time, the city was the site of such schools as the College of California (1855), Pacific Female College (1863), Pacific Theological Seminary (1871), Mills College (1870), Morgan Conservatory of Music (1877), California Eclectic Medical College (1878), Gilson's Normal and Special Training School (1888), California College (1885), Pacific Baptist Theological Seminary (1891), Oakland Conservatory of Music (1899), and a number of private business colleges.

Oakland's reputation in the field of higher education has suffered in the twentieth century. However, the city still boasts of a variety of educational facilities: 66 elementary schools, 16 junior highs, five high schools, a junior college with two campuses, and several institutions of higher learning such as Mills College, California College of Arts and Crafts, College of Holy Names, and Concordia College. In addition to these, Oakland has four business colleges, over 50 vocational schools, and a large number of nursery and parochial schools. The East Bay city has a higher percentage of its civilian labor force engaged in educational service occupations than San Francisco; however, this percentage is less than that for the entire San Francisco-Oakland SMSA. The construction of a $70 million campus for the new California State College in nearby Hayward and the Berkeley campus of the University of California suggest that Oakland is also endowed with ample facilities for higher education in its immediate environs. The discussion of educational opportunities for adults in Chapter 3 further explores the educational resources of Oakland.

Cultural Activities

Oakland is frequently characterized by outsiders as a cultural desert. This reputation rests on invidious comparisons with San Francisco and Berkeley where the University of California offers a rich fare of cultural activities throughout the year. While it is true that these comparisons are disadvantageous for Oakland, the city has a number of cultural resources which merit recognition, particularly its new museum complex and its public library.

Historically, Oakland has not been hospitable to supporting its museum resources. All three museums have been housed in temporary buildings throughout their existence. The Oakland Public Museum opened in 1910 in a frame mansion, and now contains over 100,000 objects of art of primitive culture of North America. The Art Museum has been housed on the third floor loft of the Oakland Auditorium since 1916, with its excellent collection of European and American art and one of the best collections of California art in existence. The Snow Museum of Natural History, situated in a wooden house since 1922, specializes in exhibiting habitats of African, Arctic, and American mammals. In 1923 a plan to secure a loan of $1 million to build a museum was discarded when the action was declared illegal under existing law, and attempts to provide more adequate housing were frustrated for many years.

A few Oaklanders, with the strong support and assistance of the city manager, organized a campaign to pass a bond issue for a new museum in 1959. However, when the city manager approached the business community for support of the issue, he was greeted with laughter. Industrial Oakland an art center! (19) The issue was placed on the ballot by the City Council with great reluctance, since they believed that any such measure would be decisively defeated. The skeptical attitude of businessmen and the Council epitomizes the reputation of Oakland as a workers' town, devoid of culture and learning. To the astonishment of the city fathers and the business community, the bond issue failed to secure the two-thirds majority needed for passage by only a few hundred votes. Defeat by such a narrow margin induced many formerly skeptical leaders to support the issue when it was resubmitted to the voters in 1961; this time the museum bond issue passed.

Two internationally known architects were invited to design the new museum complex that will call for "notable landmarks and public attractions. . . of enduring architectural significance." (20) The new museum complex will house the three Oakland museums in a two-block square area adjacent to the Civic Auditorium and the Exposition Hall. The new director of the museum contemplates programming activities for the entire community.

Another very important cultural resource is the public library system. As far back as 1868, the Oakland Free Library began to build an effective system with many branches; a new main library opened in 1951. The Oakland library compares favorably with those of other Bay Area communities. Its per capita book collection is in excess of San Francisco, Berkeley, the State of California, and the United States, although still falling below the minimum standard established by the American Library Association. Oakland added the largest number of new titles to its collection in the entire Bay Area in 1959-60, and appears to be well ahead of the minimum standards of the ALA in the acquisition of new titles. While improvement is needed, Oakland's public library system appears to be a strong cultural asset.

An important criterion for judging the cultural awareness of a city is the extent to which public funds are used to support private cultural organizations. On this measure, Oakland ranks below San Francisco; $21,800 was contributed to only six private organizations in the fiscal year 1961-62, while San Francisco provided over $500,000 to fifteen or sixteen groups. Some of the activities that represent an effort toward cultural development are a Junior Center of Art which offers arts and crafts classes for children, an East Bay Children's Theatre, the Woodminister Light Opera Series, Oakland Community Concert Series, Oakland Gala Concert Series, the Oakland Symphony and Chorus, and a few little theatre groups such as the London Circle Players.

We may note that Oakland did have some small reputation as the home of many literary figures. The writer responsible for making the city known to thousands was, of course, Jack London. Bret Harte is reputed to have moved there before he wrote The Luck of Roaring Camp. Henry George, author of Progress and Poverty and exponent of the single tax theory, lived in Oakland and worked as editor of the Oakland Transcript. Others reported to have lived in the city in the 1880's are Robert Louis Stevenson, Ambrose Bierce, and Joaquin Miller. Edwin Markham, principal of the Tompkins Grammer School in 1899, wrote his poem, "The Man With The Hoe" in Oakland. The poet George Sterling lived and worked there, and Sidney Coe Howard, who was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1925, was an Oakland native (21).

The Oakland Image

The problem of characterizing the image of a city is most difficult, because it varies from individual to individual and from social class to social class. A Negro migrant from the south coming to the city may look upon his new home as a source of a better job and a higher standard of living. The upper middle class businessman who lives in Piedmont may see Oakland as only a place to work. There is no question that the dimensions of any city are multitudinous and will invariably produce a variety of images (22). Therefore our discussion of the Oakland image does not claim to be a complete examination of the subject, but is restricted primarily to the published comments of Oakland's defenders and critics.

Oakland has always been a city of great promise. An early appraisal declared:

> The new Oakland, to paraphrase a famous description of Boston, 'is not so much a locality as a state of mind.' There was an Oakland at ease, in the enjoyment of the bounties which nature has lavishly bestowed upon her; somnalent and well satisfied. That place is of the past. The Oakland of today /1907/ is a magnificent city in the making, conscious of itself, certain of its future. . . . For a long time Oakland has been trying to live down its reputation of being a mere annex to San Francisco. . . The Oakland of today, stirred by the spirit of civic self-consciousness, is a city alert, aggressive, assertive, with a firm hand shaping its destiny. (23)

This appraisal was made shortly after the earthquake at a time when Oaklanders were perhaps excessively optimistic about its future. But the city fathers and boosters have often viewed Oakland through "rose-colored" glasses. Much of this attitude is due to three factors: the natural landscape, rapid population increases, and the stimulus of the excellent reputation enjoyed by its neighbor across the Bay.

This last factor works in two ways. On the one hand, San Francisco serves as a competitor to be excelled, thus inspiring civic unity and an optimistic search for a distinctive identity; on the other, the presence of San Francisco leads to a sense of inferiority.

The first reaction may be illustrated by the many assertions of Oakland's achievements. For example, a Rotarian proudly acclaims Oakland as a world famous city that is fast replacing San Francisco as the commercial and industrial center of the west.

> Back in 1922, for instance, the Chicago company with which I was associated decided to build a western factory in Oakland. 'Oakland,' asked many surprised persons, 'where in the hell is Oakland?' It really was a fair question at that time--and the most logical answer was, 'Oakland is one of San Francisco's larger suburbs.' The answer, though not entirely accurate, did fix the location and status of Oakland in our unenlightened minds. In the ensuing 24 years, however, Oakland has ceased to be a suburb of San Francisco--and today is known throughout the world for its products, its climate, its friendliness, its progressiveness, its labor strife, its share of the Bay Bridge, and its tidal stink. (24)

Another asserts: ". . . from a gawky, drab and colorless community of commuters, it /Oakland/ has grown into a lusty, hustling industrial community. . . and it is fast replacing San Francisco as the commercial and industrial center of the Great West." (25)

Apart from assertion, a renewal of civic interest and responsibility led to Oakland winning the National Municipal League's award as the All-American city in 1956. The basis for the award was an acceleration of civic activities resulting in the passage of a $40 million school construction bond issue, creation of an urban renewal office, promotion of the need to modernize the airport, provision for more off-street parking facilities, the reorganization of the City Police Department, etc. The passage of the museum bond issue, mentioned previously, was an outstanding achievement.

However, despite the considerable accomplishments, the second reaction, the sense of hurt inferiority, predominates in many Oaklanders. One index of this inferiority is the common reference to San Francisco as "The City." Reacting to this expression, one disgruntled citizen said:

> In the curriculum of every East Bay school there should be a campaign to call the town across the Bay by its right name, instead of our present bumpkinish habit of saying 'I'm going over to the city.' We do not live or work in a comedy suburb, but are rather part of a great commercial and residential area that cannot be denied its heritage. We must have vision for our community. . . Our character is all right, but we must cease playing second fiddle mentally to any other community in the U. S. A. (26)

The practice of referring to San Francisco as "The City" extends beyond the Bay Area. For example, Eugene Burdick, in his glowing admiration for San Francisco, said:

> But San Francisco, the City, is another thing again. . . it reaches from a vague line along the Tehachapi Mountains, not far from Los Angeles, to the Oregon and Nevada borders. In that whole area when people say 'The City' they mean only San Francisco. Quite literally they consider themselves to live in San Francisco, to be citizens of the City. (27)

The editors of Holiday in an issue devoted to San Francisco discuss "The City" by the Golden Gate in terms that are difficult to match:

> . . . it is the city to millions living within commuting distance and beyond. . . today it projects an image that the whole world recognizes, an image that embodies culture, sophistication, taste, and a self-assurance that can take even the rise and proliferation of the beatnik in stride. . . .
> . . . For physical beauty, San Francisco ranks with the world's loveliest civic belles. For excitement, there is no more electric community anywhere. For

> the life of the soul, San Francisco fosters a most impressive flowering of the arts. This is a city of perennial Forty-Niners living in a perennial remaissance: this is America's dreamed-of end of the rainbow. And it is real. (28)

In this same issue, the editors also discuss other Bay Area cities which have a distinctive character. Oakland is noticeably excluded from this discussion. (29)

When invidious comparisons are made between San Francisco and Oakland, the East Bay city is frequently depicted as characterless, particularly when outsiders make the comparison. For example, Allan Temko depicts Oakland as a blob of vacuity:

> . . . Oakland's single overriding characteristic is characterlessness. Aside from its magnificent lake, and a few recent embellishments such as the Kaiser Center, downtown Oakland is an inchoate assemblage of aging commercial structures, ramshackle dwellings, hotels varying in quality from mediocre to poor, block-busting parking lots, and street advertising of almost incredible vulgarity. . . Oakland does not resemble a satellite community with a strong character of its own, such as Brooklyn, as much as it approximates a tenth of Los Angeles: A section of formless waste. The city's vacuity must be experienced to be appreciated fully; there is a pervading emptiness everywhere, in the touchingly pretentious public buildings as well as in the crass business district and its adjoining Negro slum; and in this environmental desert it is difficult to find a civilized amenity such as a first-class restaurant. Oakland possesses one of the finest urban sites in the world. As its lights come on, it might be mistaken for a metropolis as vital as Rio. The waterfront, now so sadly degraded, might be developed as superbly as Lake Merritt, a civic resource which, as far as I know, is unmatched in the heart of any other large city. (30)

The Temko description may be an exaggeration, but it does reflect the general opinion shared by visitors to the Bay Area and residents of other communities. The very few instances when Oakland has been mentioned in national publications, the description has been negative. For example, an article in the New Yorker, describing the trial and conviction of a confidence man operating out of Oakland, depicted the city as a kind of metropolitan joke, dreary and uninteresting:

> . . . Oakland, a sprawling, shapeless community of about four hundred thousand people, just across the bay from San Francisco. Geographically, and in a number of other respects as well, Oakland's relationship to San Francisco is comparable to that of Jersey City to New York. Oakland has long envied San Francisco, its dramatic site, its colorful history, and its fame., and has resented its own status as something of a metropolitan joke. Dreary, unadventurous, inevitably second-best in everything, the city seems to be wanting for some miracle that will completely transform its life and quality. . . (31)

As we noted previously, the image of a city can never be depicted as a unitary construct, but represents a multiplicity of views. Thus, we found that Oaklanders are proud of their achievements and outsiders are contemptuous in their characterizations. That Oakland requires more imaginative leadership, greater civic responsibility, and a more persistent commitment to self-improvement cannot be overlooked. While many Oakland boosters are unwilling to publicly discuss the shortcomings of the city, the incumbent mayor was recently quoted as saying:

> I inherited 15 years of complete and utter stagnation. The community leadership--if you want to call it leadership--was apathetic. . . If it could be stirred by any one issue it was 'hold the line on taxes.' That left the city bleeding. (32)

Recently there have been successful attempts to move out of apathy and to improve the quality of living within the city. There is no question that Oakland's parks and playgrounds, its symphony orchestra, and the new museum complex that will arise in the next few years are positive achievements. In addition, the quality of civil servants attracted to city government has been high. Yet, the apathy that the mayor described above, the fact that many Oakland businessmen live in neighboring cities, and the unfortunate tendency to compare Oakland with

San Francisco have produced an image of the city that is seldom complimentary.

Conclusions

This chapter was written to acquaint the reader with some of the distinctive features of Oakland where this study was conducted. We have attempted to catch the essential character of the city, although our description is neither complete nor definitive. Inevitably, biases in selection and emphasis intrude into any attempt to describe a complex entity such as a city, but our purpose was to provide background material rather than a complete analysis.

A number of themes characterize the city's quality. Oakland has vacillated between periods of vigorous leadership which has made the city into a vital urban settlement and periods of apathy and selfishness during which the natural beauty and potential of the area has remained unexploited. The proximity of San Francisco has been a burden, since it invites invidious comparisons and tends to undermine any uniqueness which Oakland could develop. Another obstacle to progress has been the fact that Oakland is a city of branch managers controlled by business organizations located outside the community. Therefore, there is less commitment among business leaders to improve the city aesthetically or culturally. The existence of the luxurious satellite community of Piedmont, where many Oakland businessmen live, may further detract from their civic enthusiasm.

A crucial ingredient in improving the quality of life in Oakland is imaginative and resourceful leadership from all segments of the community. Two groups of particular importance are the business and Negro leaders. As long-run trends indicate, Oakland's population will become increasingly Negro, with a substantial minority of Mexican-Americans. The prevailing paternalism toward the Negro must be replaced by a genuine interest in bringing the Negro community into a full partnership to deal with problems of development.

Education, at both the child and adult level, is one of the crucial resources which must be more fully utilized by public agencies if some of the existing problems in Oakland are to be dealt with effectively. In particular, the education of working class children and adults must be redesigned to bridge the gap between highly technical job requirements and the educational attainments of large segments of the population. Better educational services to working class people is a need which exists in most large American cities--in this matter, Oakland is definitely not unique.

Chapter 3: Educational Opportunities for Adults in Oakland

Both educational and non-educational institutions offer instruction to adults. Since we wished to locate all such instruction in Oakland, we did not limit our survey of sponsoring agencies only to educational institutions, but cast as wide a net as possible. With the use of city and telephone directories, questionnaires were mailed to 1,040 organizations, and with one follow-up mailing a return of 61 per cent was attained. A detailed discussion of the sampling design and return rate is presented in Appendix 1.

Our effort to identify educational activities was impeded by the fact that many groups regard their programs as merely orientation, indoctrination, or informational. Such activities are rarely considered adult education, partly because of the ambiguity of this concept in our society, and partly because education is generally associated with the young, the handicapped, or those in need of remedial training. To deal with this difficulty we formulated our basic question in the most general terms: "Does your organization now sponsor any programs of an educational or self-improvement nature for adults in Oakland?"

Of the 565 organizations which returned their questionnaires, about a fourth (28 per cent) reported that they sponsored one or more educational activities. The rate of sponsorship varies considerably, however, according to the type of organization; it is highest among educational institutions, of whom over four-fifths offer programs for adults, while it is lowest among employment centered organizations, where only a fifth are involved in adult instruction. Voluntary associations and civic-governmental groups are intermediate in their rates of sponsorship (Table I-10).

While most educational institutions are involved in adult education, it is also true that they are in the minority among sponsors of instruction for adults. As Table I-10 indicates, they constitute only a fourth of all the organizations which sponsor such instruction. This fact points to the importance of including all types of organizations when adult education is being studied, because the most diverse agencies and institutions are involved.

Table I-10

Types of Organizations Sponsoring Education or Self-Improvement Programs for Adults in Oakland

Type of Organization*	Proportion Sponsoring Adult Educ. Within Each Type of Organization	Proportion of Each Type of Organization Among All Sponsors
Educational	87% (45)	25%
Civic-Governmental	22% (134)	18
Employment-centered	19% (252)	31
Voluntary associations	31% (134)	26
Total	28% (565)	100% (157)

*The following are some of the organizations under each of these headings: Educational: high schools, junior colleges, colleges and universities, aircraft schools, music schools, proprietary schools, correspondence. Civic-Governmental: museums, libraries, art galleries, parks and recreational agencies, hospitals, and federal, state, county, or city agencies. Employment-centered: business and industrial firms, labor unions, trade councils, employers' associations, professional societies. Voluntary associations: churches and church organizations, veterans and patriotic groups, age groups, political and social organizations, civic improvement societies, ethnic groups, and fraternal, recreational, or charitable organizations.

Educational institutions are in the minority among adult education sponsors, but they also tend to have bigger adult programs. Of the 3,223 adult activities reported by sponsoring organizations, educational institutions provide 51 per cent; civic-government, 21 per cent; voluntary associations, 16 per cent; and employment-centered organizations, 12 per cent. It is true, therefore, that an adult is more likely to find an educational program in a school than in any of the non-educational organizations (1).

Co-Sponsorship Patterns

Unlike the practices found in the education of youth, adult education often co-sponsors its educational programs with outside groups. In a study of the public school adult education program in Los Angeles, Burton Clark reported that approximately one-fifth of the courses were co-sponsored with outside organizations (2). Clark describes a number of advantages to be gained by co-sponsorship: access to a clientele, legitimation of the activity, assistance in identifying a teaching staff, help in determining a course content, potential means for evaluation, and sources of support from powerful political groups in the community (3).

In Oakland, only 12 per cent of the educational activities offered are sponsored by more than one organization. This rate is about the same for all types of sponsors, but varies considerably according to the format of the instruction. As the bottom row in Table I-11 indicates, discussion groups are more likely to be co-sponsored than classes, and lecture series are least likely to be co-sponsored. This pattern is particularly pronounced within educational institutions, where almost all of the discussion groups and none of the lecture series are sponsored jointly with an outside organization.

Table I-11

Proportion of Educational Activities Co-Sponsored, By Type of Sponsoring Organization and Format of Instruction*

	Format of Instruction			
Type of Organization	Classes	Lecture Series	Discussion Groups	Total
Educational	10% (1390)	0% (221)	92% (27)	10% (1638)
Civic-Governmental	10% (460)	15% (93)	41% (125)	16% (678)
Employment-centered	19% (255)	10% (39)	4% (95)	14% (389)
Voluntary Association	14% (345)	7% (86)	2% (87)	11% (518)
Total	11% (2450)	5% (439)	24% (334)	12% (3223)

*Q: "Thinking of last spring, summer and fall, please estimate the number of educational activities for adults that you co-sponsored."

While co-sponsorship is not a widespread practice in Oakland, it provides a means for combining resources so that a program can be offered. For example, if left to its own resources a labor union may not have the teaching staff or facilities to arrange its own program--these may be secured by co-sponsorship with a school. Co-sponsorship is particularly valuable for the small organization which desires to offer educational programs for adults, but which lacks the necessary facilities or resources.

Admission Policies

The opportunity to participate is directly related to the admission policies of the organizations which sponsor adult education activities. Policies may be open-ended and flexible or restrictive and rigid; whichever they are, they determine in part the character of the clientele being served. By and large, adult education tends toward a flexible, open-ended admission policy, and we found this to be the case in Oakland.

Perhaps the most restrictive admission practice is in the junior college credit transfer program, which requires a minimum grade point average and an examination for both the day school and the adult evening program. Junior college officials asserted that this policy was adopted to maintain the standards of its academic program. However, courses in the junior college terminal program have no prerequisites for admission.

This is also the practice in public evening high school adult programs where "classes, in general, are open to all persons 18 years of age and over." Only certain classes are restricted to those "with necessary training, qualification, and experience." (4) Under this policy, almost any adult is eligible to enroll in adult classes sponsored by the Oakland high schools.

Proprietary schools also tend to have open admission policies. Where restrictions occur, they are generally related to the talents required in the positions for which students are being trained. For example, a peace officer's training school required a specified height and age range, good physical condition and eyesight, and a "clean record." A market training program specified that applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 45 and taller than 5'4". A beauty culture program limited its students to those with at least a 10th grade education or a passing score on an I.Q. test, on the assumption that a minimum level of intelligence was required to benefit from the instruction.

The policies of civic-governmental organizations exhibit considerable variety. Recreation groups sometimes limit instruction to their members and often specify age and skill qualifications, e.g., by dividing their clientele into beginning, intermediate, and advanced sections. In general, however, their policies tend to be flexible. Hospitals, with few exceptions, restrict admission to their own employees, and some have minimum educational standards for their programs.

Some governmental agencies sponsor both internal and external educational programs, but most restrict their activities to their employees. The internal programs usually do not specify prerequisites, except selection by supervisory personnel, and the general policy appears to be one of encouraging employees to enroll if they feel they can profit from the experience.

The government-sponsored external programs, such as civil defense and vocational rehabilitation, vary in admission policy. Civil defense accepts all interested members of the public, and requires a minimum level of knowledge only in technical courses (e.g., radiological monitoring). Vocational rehabilitation accepts the disabled who can be employed with additional counseling, education, or retraining. The army educational program, which is quite extensive, is restricted to army personnel on either active or reserve status.

The major restriction among employment-centered organizations is employment or membership in the sponsoring organization. A certified public accounting society reported that its educational activities were limited to C.P.A.'s or those in training for the license. A medical technology association similarly restricted its programs to licensed medical technologists.

Most labor unions which offer educational programs organize these exclusively for their officers or apprentices. Apprenticeship programs are characterized by some of the most restrictive practices in adult education, usually requiring high school graduation, entrance examination, a specified age range, and sponsorship by a member of the union. One Oakland union reported that "I.Q. score, ability, attitude, and level of schooling were important criteria for admission." The requirement that an apprentice be sponsored by a member of the union has often been employed to discriminate against Negroes and other minorities, who are thereby excluded from practicing a skilled trade in which they might have considerable talent (5).

The requirement of membership is also the major restriction practiced by voluntary associations. Among the members, however, all who are interested in the available programs are usually encouraged to enroll. Besides interest in the topic of the course, there may be a few minor additional requirements. For example, the Oakland YMCA stated that some of its physical education activities require participants to be in good health.

The array of admission policies described above illustrates how adult education tends to have considerably more flexibility and less rigidity than the formal educational institutions. There tends to be the norm that all adults interested in a program of study should be permitted to participate. It is also true, however, that much of adult education is restricted to the members of sponsoring organizations, so that people who belong to only a few organizations are restricted in their opportunities for additional training. As will be shown in Part III of this monograph, organizational membership is an important determining factor in adult education participation.

Admission policy is a critical issue in the field of adult education, and is often the basis for criticism directed against the prevailing character of programming. The argument in favor of a restrictive policy usually takes the form of a defense for the maintenance of high standards in instruction. Uninterested and unqualified adult students, it is argued, force instructors to "water down" the course contents and to use lower standards in the evaluation of the students' classwork. As a counter-argument, adult educators maintain that age, work experience, and more extended participation in life's activities provide adults with more motivation and the ability to profit from most educational experiences.

While the issue of admission policy continues to be debated, a number of experimental degree programs especially designed for adults have been operating in such institutions as Brooklyn College, Syracuse University, Goddard College, University of Oklahoma, Queens College, McCoy College at Johns Hopkins University, and the San Francisco Theological Seminary (6). In Oakland, some institutions provide credit for work experience, thereby making their credit programs more flexible. However, a systematic examination of the relation between admission policies and the maintenance of high academic standards has not yet been conducted.

Fees

The opportunity to participate in adult education activities varies according to the price which the clientele must pay for enrollment. Obviously, a person in poor financial condition could not realistically enroll if fees are exorbitant.

It is generally held that publicly supported institutions do not impose fees for admission while private groups are forced to do so, either because of their limited sources of funds or because they are in business for a profit. We asked the sampled organizations about their funding practices to determine whether the differentiation between public and private organizations was legitimate and to describe the pattern of fee systems in Oakland.

The wisdom of charging fees, especially in the publicly supported institutions, is part of current debate in the field of adult education. One side argues that adult should be self-supporting. This would free the administrator from the restraining pressures of a tradition-bound parent institution and, so the argument goes, the clientele would be more highly motivated to perform well than if it received the educational service without cost. A study in support of this latter position reported that drop-outs from adult education programs were lower where fees were charged for admission (7). Another pro-fee argument states that the community cannot afford to support education for adults, since the growth of enrollments by children and youth are an increasingly heavy drain on the public purse. In any case, the argument concludes, the adult interested in education can afford to pay for it.

The opposing position, held by some public school administrators, is that adult education is an integral part of free public education. If this premise is accepted, it follows that adult education should derive its funds from the same sources as other levels of public education. In addition to the question of equity, the anti-fee argument maintains that fees discriminate against lower income groups, thereby tending to reduce their participation (8). In an empirical study of this assertion, Olds found that adult programs charging highest fees attracted a smaller proportion of economically disadvantaged adults (9). In addition, it is frequently maintained that the lower income groups are in greatest need of further education. In sum, then, the anti-fee position urges that the charging of fees in public institutions discriminates against the economically disadvantaged, undermines the notion of free public education, and should not be permitted in a society that claims equal opportunity for all classes of citizens.

Regardless of how this controversy will be finally resolved, one of the distinctive features of the adult education fee structure in Oakland is that educational organizations impose fees while other types of sponsors tend not to do so. Some of the educational organizations are proprietary schools, and they charge fees because they are in business for profit. However, the evening high school imposes fees on its adults, even though its day school activities are free to students. Only the junior college, which defines both youth and adults as regular students even if they are only enrolled part-time, offers free educational services. The Extension Division of the University of California, which is not included in our sample of organizations because it is located in neighboring Berkeley, charges substantial fees for enrollment even though it is a publicly supported land grant institution.

The charge of fairly large fees by the Extension Division results from the state policy which requires that 91 per cent of the total cost of Extension programs be secured from tuitions. In contrast, regular students of the University pay very small fees for educational services. The net result of the existing fee policy is that the Extension clientele tends to be limited to the more affluent segment of the population. This raises the moral issue of whether a public institution should use a person's ability to pay as an important criterion for the selection of its clientele.

In contrast to educational institutions, the overwhelming majority of non-educational organizations offer their educational services free of charge. Among civic-governmental groups, almost two-thirds do not impose fees. This is especially true for federal and state agencies, although one group reported that it charged fees when its activities were co-sponsored with an educational institution. Industrial and business concerns generally provide educational services without charge to their adult students, and the same policy is usually followed by labor unions. Indeed, it is generally the practice in industry to pay the tuition cost of employees who successfully complete a course of study at a school or college. Employer associations and professional societies do tend to charge fees for members of their affiliated organizations. Finally, about two-thirds of the voluntary associations do not charge fees for their educational services. Those which do so tend to have limited over-all budgets, and are therefore compelled to rely on funds derived from fees. A summary of the Oakland adult education fee structure is presented in Table I-12.

Table I-12

Fee Charges for Adult Education Activities, By Type of Sponsoring Organization*

	Sponsoring Organizations			
Fees are imposed:	Education	Civic-Gov't.	Employment-Centered	Voluntary Assoc.
For all activities	95%	23%	19%	28%
For some activities	0	14	3	4
For none of the activities	5	63	78	68
Total	100% (38)	100% (22)	100% (32)	100% (25)

*Q: "Does your organization charge fees for its adult programs?"

When educational institutions charge fees there is the usually unfortunate likelihood that they will assume some of the characteristics of business organizations operating for a profit. Under these circumstances, expediency and the need for profit may be used as the major criteria in the creation of educational programs. As a consequence, programs of an entertaining or popular character may be emphasized, to the possible detriment of educational programs which have a more enduring value to the individual and society. In this regard, educational institutions would do well to model themselves more on the fee structures of the non-educational sponsors of adult education.

Oakland Compared to Other Cities

Our preceding discussion of opportunities for adult education was limited to the programs offered in the city of Oakland. With available statistics it is possible, in addition, to compare adult education attendance in Oakland schools with the size of public adult school attendance in other cities. By such a comparison it is possible to infer whether opportunities for continuing education are as available in Oakland as in other parts of California.

Table I-13 indicates that Oakland attracts a smaller proportion of its population to the adult programs offered by its public schools than do San Francisco, Berkeley, San Jose or Los Angeles. While some caution is indicated in interpreting these statistics, since some of the figures are not strictly comparable, the differences between Oakland and other California cities are extreme (10).

Part of the reason for these large differences may be the fact that a substantial proportion of Oakland residents commute to neighboring communities where educational offerings may be more attractive. In our matched sample survey, to be discussed subsequently, fully half of the adult education participants drove out of Oakland for their courses. Another reason is the policy of the junior college system which forces almost all adult students into its credit degree program, modeled after the day school curriculum, instead of being interested in attracting a distinctive adult education clientele. Other factors which might cause the relatively low attendance rate are the extent of support for adult education by the Board of Education and school administrative staffs, and the particular composition of the Oakland population. Whatever the reasons, however, it is certain that the educational institutions in Oakland do not show the vigor demonstrated elsewhere.

Table I-13

Ratio of Adult Education Attendance in Public Schools to the Adult Population, in Selected California Cities**

Cities	Number of adults 21 years and over, 1960	Average Daily Attendance 1961-62	Ratio per 10,000 adults
OAKLAND	247,590	818	33.0
San Francisco	531,774	6,882	129.4
Berkeley	74,863	945	126.2
San Jose	121,542	928*	76.3
Los Angeles	1,640,617	18,495	112.7

*1960-61

**Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1960; Annual reports of the Adult Education Offices in Oakland (1961-62), Berkeley (1961-62), San Jose (1960-61), and Los Angeles (1961-62); telephone conversation with Coordinator of Adult Education Office, San Francisco Unified School District.

Summary

Although much of the research in adult education has focused on the educational activities sponsored by the formal educational institutions, the involvement of non-educational organizations must be taken into account if a complete picture is desired. Our survey of all types of organizations in Oakland revealed about half of the courses offered were organized by non-educational organizations.

With regard to the opportunity for adult education in Oakland, the existing admission policies and fee structures were described, and Oakland's rate of attendance was compared to that of other California cities. In general, the admission policies in adult education are more flexible and open than those in the formal educational institutions. However, several prevailing policies tend to restrict opportunities in adult education. Admission to credit programs in the junior colleges tends to be highly restrictive, and the frequently-found policy of non-educational organizations to limit admission to their members also tends to restrict opportunities.

Studies about the relation between fee charges and selection of clientele have shown that high fees tend to discriminate against lower income groups. Contrary to public expectations, we found that educational institutions are much more likely to charge fees than are non-educational organizations. The moral as well as practical implications of this practice were discussed.

Finally, a comparison of average daily attendance rates in the adult education offerings provided by the public schools in various California cities showed that Oakland was well below the average. Although this is not a reflection on the quality of adult education in Oakland, it does suggest that the size of its programs could be greatly increased to the benefit of its residents.

PART II: PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

Chapter 4: The Meaning of Adult Education and Variety in Participation

All research investigators are faced with the task of clearly, rigorously, and explicitly defining their subject matter before proceeding with their investigations, and are forced to continually re-examine and perhaps revise their original views as the research advances and their knowledge of the subject matter increases.

In the study of some subjects, this process of definition is relatively easy. One of these, for example, is voting studies, in which the process of definition is helped by the fact that voting is a widely recognized and explicitly defined act anchored to specific times and places, having a relatively short duration, regulated by sets of written rules, and having an outcome which is easily measured and for which an elaborate machinery of measurement already exists.

In contrast, adult education does not lend itself to easy definition or measurement. Its subject matter encompasses everything from professional and technical training to the study of literature and handicrafts. Its methods include courses, discussion groups, private lessons, or various combinations of these. The techniques used may be television, correspondence, or various kinds of personal confrontations. The sponsoring agencies may be educational institutions, museums, libraries, hospitals, military establishments, industrial organizations, professional societies, religious organizations, or political, civic, charitable, social, and ethnic organizations. The activity itself may last for only a few days, as is the case with some workshops, or may continue for a number of years with changing curricula and different participants. In short, adult education activity includes the most varied sorts of organizational structures, purposes, participants, and methods.

Despite the nature of adult education activity, it was necessary for us at least to attempt an adequate definition in designing our questionnaires, and then to take into consideration the great variety of activities which were reported in our interviews by actual participants. This chapter is devoted to reporting some of our conclusions concerning the problem of definition, and to describing the pattern of participation revealed in the collected interviews.

Defining Adult Education

By reading, reflection, and our experiences with all sorts of educational activity, we have tried to determine what adult education is. In doing this we have, on the one hand, tried to take into account the views about adult education held generally and, on the other hand, to arrive at a formulation which could be used in a research instrument such as a questionnaire. It proved useful to begin with a consideration of what adult education is *not*, rather than what it is, and to arrive at a definition by a process of elimination, rejecting those parts of social life which are generally not felt to be adult education activities, though they may resemble such activities in significant ways.

One important distinction to be made is between *education as purpose* and *education as function*. Clearly, all human activity can, at least potentially, have an educational function. Any social participation, be it in casual conversation or in strictly circumscribed social rituals, in playful or in serious activity, in instrumental or expressive relations, can have the function of educating the participants. Obviously, if we define adult education in terms of function, we would have to take all social life as the subject of our study. Clearly, adult education technically refers to a more delimited area of social life, namely, to those social activities whose primary *purpose* is to educate (1).

Taken in this sense, it should be noted that adult education activity is ordinarily defined from the top, so to speak, rather than from the bottom. That is, adult education is defined according to the purposes of the organizers rather than those of the participants (although in most cases the purposes are perhaps the same). For example, travel or private reading may be undertaken for educational reasons, but they are usually not regarded as "adult education." On the other hand, participants may join a course in order to meet people or make friends, but the course will be regarded as "adult education" if the purposes of the organizational staff are educational.

Another way to arrive at the formulation of a definition is by comparing adult education with the education of youth, or what is usually termed formal education. Adult education has been defined as "that part of the educational process which begins when formal schooling is finished(2)." This is an interesting distinction because it involves conceptions about the meaning of "adult," on the one hand, and "normal schooling" on the other.

The word "adult" as used in the rubric "adult education," obviously does not refer to chronological age, though legal and other definitions of adulthood do have such reference. The right to enter into contract, which is one of the legal rights reserved to adults, begins at the maximum age of 21 for men and 18 for women; in some Southern states, males at age 16 and females at age 14 are already considered legal adults. Such legal definitions, however, do not cause organizations which educate people over 21 to be considered adult education institutions. Graduate schools, at which the majority of students may be adult legally, are still not generally held to be adult education. The conception of adulthood used in adult education is therefore not chronological, but is rather a social conception.

Briefly, this conception is held in relation to the two most important areas of societal life, work and the family. On the one hand, an adult is conceived to be a person who is a full-time member of the labor force, particularly one who is engaged in a "career" rather than in the less stable parts of the labor market. On the other hand, an adult is a person who has left the family he was born into and is now raising his own, to which his primary loyalty and responsibility have been transferred.

These two views of the adult explain the prevalent idea of adult education as a part-time activity. There is nothing in the process itself, or in the programs offered, which requires adult education to be part-time. This requirement, rather, stems from the societal belief that an adult is one who is engaged in full-time work; as a result of *this* fact his education is necessarily part-time.

Similarly, the view that educational institutions which provide full-time education are primarily not adult institutions is also lodged in views about adulthood. In a variety of ways, students are not considered adults. They receive preferential treatment from law enforcement agencies (if "adults" engaged in panty raids they would be treated more severely than students have been treated in such circumstances) and are often "protected" by special provisions for housing, special rules about moral behavior, and a certain leniency toward participation in pranks and protests. Students of legal age are therefore considered to be still preparing for adulthood, rather than having quite attained it. It is in this context that graduate training in universities is not regarded as adult education, though graduate students are often legal adults.

Given the conception of adulthood implicit in adult education, the distinction between formal education and adult education is likely to become much more ambiguous than it already is. The traditional signs of adulthood are being acquired earlier in the life cycle, while people tend to stay longer in formal educational institutions. Thus, an increasing proportion of college students, both undergraduate and graduate, are married, have children, and are at least in part self-supporting. For an increasing proportion, the end of formal education is coming to take place in the middle and late twenties.

In addition, formal educational institutions now provide training which, if not provided by them, would probably be counted as part of the adult education movement. For example, the terminal training offered by junior colleges (which will undoubtedly increase in number during the coming years), would previously not have been a part of formal education. We are referring here to such apprenticeship training as cosmetology, automobile mechanics, lower level electronics, and TV repair. Some colleges have also instituted programs for special classes of adults, and these are counted as part of the regular curriculum.

Another trend is the use of formal educational institutions for in-service training. This is already a well-established procedure in some professions, particularly elementary and high school teaching. It may be an increasing trend in such professions as engineering and administration, in which knowledge and skills change so rapidly that practitioners may "fall behind" without continuous formal training. Again, this is the education of adults, but does not fall under the rubric of adult education. In sum, because of persisting trends in education generally, the distinction between formal education and adult education is likely to be ambiguous for some time to come.

Another distinction which can elucidate the meaning of adult education is between it and leisure activity. We have already mentioned reading and travel, but there are a host of other such activities--hobbies, card playing, and so on. All these activities meet the requirements of being part-time, carried on in addition to participation in work and family, and some are actually part of adult education programs in which courses are offered and taken. Generally, it appears that the reason they are not considered to be "adult education" is that they are not socially organized. That is, reading is adult education if it takes place in the context of a Great Books discussion group, but is not if it is done privately. Once again, we reiterate that activities are technically adult education only if they are so defined from the point of view of society, i.e., if they take place as part of organized activity.

The above ideas have informed us in our definition of adult education activity. We have accepted all kinds of reported activity as long as it was performed in an organized instructional context; we have included both vocational and non-vocational activities in our definition; we have excluded full-time students from our sample, thereby making the distinction between formal and adult education; and we have data on sponsors, duration, frequency, and subjects of the activities, and the methods of instruction used.

Since one of our requisites for adult education was that it be organized activity, our main series of questions by which we classified respondents was cast in terms of method instead of subject matter, although we subsequently asked about the latter as well. The questions are as follows:

1. Some people take classes or instruction of one kind or another in their spare time. How about you: Do you happen to be attending any classes or series of lectures, or do you participate in a regular discussion group?

_____Yes _____No

IF YES: Which, specifically, classes, lecture series, or discussion groups?

_____Classes _____Lecture series _____Discussion groups

2. Are you taking any private lessons, such as golf lessons or piano lessons?

_____Yes _____No

3. What about correspondence courses or TV courses: Are you taking any of them?

_____Yes _____No

4. IF NO TO 1, 2, and 3: Have you taken part in any such educational activities, or in things like an educational workshop or conference, in the last few months?

_____Yes _____No

IF YES: When____

As can be seen from these questions, we cast a large net for participants. In addition to the wide range of alternatives provided, the rapid sequence and repetitive nature of the questions probably encourage respondents to review their present activities thoroughly in order to report those which might even remotely fall into the categories specified. Also, the last question in the series extended the concept of participation to include activities engaged in during the preceding two months as well as currently. (Although the question was worded "in the last few months," we coded as participants only those who participated during the preceding two months.) All those who answered "yes" to one or more of the series of questions were classified as participants in adult education activity.

Adult Education Participation, as Reported by Oakland Participants

The patterns of participation in adult education activities to be described in this part of the monograph were discovered by survey of the Oakland male population, aged 20-59. The details of the sampling design are presented in Appendix 1, but it may be said generally that the results represent the middle income groups in the city of Oakland. The purpose of this survey was to locate adult education participants and non-participants, so that they could be matched according to various characteristics and then interviewed in great detail. The resulting matched sample survey, which is analyzed in Part III of this Report, is the main source for our more analytic and theoretical discussion of the relation between adult education and various facets of societal life. However, the Community Survey gathered extensive descriptive information, and for that reason will be presented in detail below.

Of the 2,708 people we interviewed, 337 reported they were engaging in some activity which could be considered, according to our definition, as adult education. In the next chapter we shall compare participation rates in various social groups, but we want first to specify the different kinds of activities reported, their sponsors, and other characteristics of participation. This presentation, then, is based on the reports by the 337 men who were classified as participants.

Table II-1 shows that the majority of these respondents were taking classes or courses, probably the most "organized" of the methods used in adult education. The next most frequently mentioned type of instructional format was correspondence courses, reported by 15 per cent of the participants in adult education. Lecture series, discussion groups, private lessons, and TV courses were each reported by less than 10 per cent of the participants.

The other major finding is that the vast majority of participants engaged in only one type of educational format. Only six per cent reported more than one type of participation, and almost all these were taking classes or courses in addition to their other participation.

Table II-1

Distribution of Types of Participation, Classified by Methods of Instruction

Classes or courses only		61%
Lecture series only		3
Discussion groups only		9
Private lessons only		5
Correspondence courses only		15
TV courses only		1
Combination of types:		6
Classes or courses plus lecture series	1	
Classes or courses plus discussion groups	1	
Classes or courses plus private lessons	2	
Classes or courses plus correspondence courses	1	
Classes or courses plus TV courses	*	
Classes or courses plus lecture series plus discussion groups plus correspondence courses	*	
Lecture series plus correspondence courses	*	
Discussion groups plus private lessons plus correspondence courses	*	
Total		100% (337)

*Less than 0.5%

Table II-2 summarizes the subjects in which the participants were being instructed. The results show that the highest proportions took lessons in white collar skills (about one-fourth), blue collar skills (about one-fifth), and liberal arts (slightly less than one-fifth). These three general areas accounted for somewhat less than two-thirds of all the participation reported.

Since our classification of subjects may not be readily apparent by inspection of subject headings, some examples of the types of subjects included under each of the headings are given below:

Manual Skills: auto repair, barbering, beauty shop operating, blueprint reading, carpentry, electronics, fire fighting techniques, meat cutting, painting houses, policeman training, welding, roofing, upholstering, TV and radio repair, watch making, woodworking.

White collar skills: accounting, advertising art, banking, business English, city planning, dental technician, drafting, engineering, employee relations, hydraulics, IBM computer wiring, journalism, "law for the layman," management skills, medical topics for nurses, motel operating, navigation, pharmacy, procedure for nursing aids, piloting aircraft, real estate, salesmanship, "selecting investments," social welfare, supervision fundamentals, surveying, teaching, typing.

Citizenship: ACLU workshop on civil liberties, American foreign policy today, civil defense, citizenship or Americanization classes, lectures on dangers of communism, lectures on Oakland city government, leadership training, parliamentary politics, world politics today.

Academic subjects: arithmetic, creative writing, art appreciation, geology, Great Books, foreign languages, history, history of religion, mathematics, music appreciation, philosophy, philosophy of religion, physiology, psychology, remedial reading, spelling.

Performing arts: acting, ballet dancing, ceramics, choral singing, painting pictures, piano playing.

Moral-religious: church-sponsored series of lectures on the Bible, Doctrine of God, humanism and world politics, business ethics, marital relations given at a church, "Christian ethics and political actions," The Fourth Gospel.

Recreation: archery, body building, bridge lessons, judo, social dancing, marksmanship, swimming lessons, life-saving.

Table II-2

Distribution of Types of Participation, Classified by Content of Instruction

Manual skills	20%
White collar skills	26
Citizenship	5
Academic subjects	18
Performing arts	6
Moral-religious	8
Recreation	7
Other (hobbies, interpersonal relations, etc.)	6
More than one type of participation	4
Total	100% (337)

From these results it can be seen that almost half the participants (those taking instruction in manual and white collar skills) are learning skills which are directly relevant to the acquisition of jobs in the labor market. This does not mean, obviously, that courses in these two fields are taken only because they are vocationally relevant; a pharmacist may take a course in welding, just as a welder may take a course in real estate or navigation because of personal curiousity. Nevertheless, we may assume that a substantial proportion of people take courses for assistance in the labor market. This assumption is supported by the data in Table II 3, which shows that about half the participants are engaging in adult education to help them with their work.

We were also interested in the types of institutions which sponsored the acitvities reported. Table II-4 indicates that most of the activities were sponsored by educational institutions, with high schools and colleges accounting for about one-third of the sponsorship. When all educational institutions are combined, they account for about three-fifths of the adult education programs reported. Each of the other kinds of organizations and associations mentioned sponsored fewer than ten per cent of the activities in which the participants engaged. (3)

Table II-3

Reasons for Participating in Adult Education

To help on present job or to get new job	50%
Not job connected	47
Some participation is job connected, other is not	3
Total	100% (337)

Table II-4

Distribution of Sponsorship of Adult Education Activity

High schools	18%
Junior colleges	9
Universities and 4-year colleges	17
Proprietary schools	9
Other educational agencies	8
Military and other governmental organizations	8
Employers and other businesses	8
Employee associations	4
Religious organizations	9
Voluntary associations	6
Other	4
Total	100% (337)

Many adult education activities, such as workshops or lecture series, are of short duration and may have relatively few meetings, but many are the more structured and durable, and are designed to continue for considerable lengths of time. For our information, we asked participants the number and frequency of meetings scheduled for their activities. Tables II-5 and II-6 show the results of these inquiries; most activities continue for ten or more meetings, and the majority attend meetings weekly or more often. In sum, most of the activities are relatively frequent and long-range.

Table II-5

Duration of Adult Education Activities

Four to nine meetings	8%
Ten or more meetings	86
More than one type of participation specified, each having different durations	2
Don't know, no answer	4
Total	100% (337)

Table II-6

Frequency of Meetings of Adult Education Activities

Weekly or more often	77%
Bimonthly	7
Monthly	10
Other	2
More than one type of participation specified, each having different frequencies of meeting	2
Don't know, no answer	2
Total	100% (337)

The above is a bare sketch of the nature of the participation which our interview respondents reported. It can be seen that (1) the most frequent methods of instruction are classes and courses; (2) the most frequent subjects learned are manual skills, white collar skills, and academic subjects; (3) about half the participants engaging in adult education do so to help them vocationally; (4) the usual sponsors of the activities are educational institutions; and (5) the large majority of the activities meet at least once a week and are scheduled to continue for at least ten meetings.

How are these facts related? The remainder of this chapter is devoted to exploring this question.

Relation between Various Facets of Adult Education

Table II-7 shows a definite connection between the subject of instruction and the methods used to convey that subject. Manual skills, white collar skills, and academic subjects are taught primarily in classes or courses. Usually teacher and student confront each other directly, though a substantial minority of these participants are involved in correspondence courses; very few of these subjects are taught by any other method.

Recreational activities are also conducted primarily in classes or courses, but, as one would expect, only in face-to-face situations (and not by correspondence). About a fourth of those engaged in recreational activities take private lessons.

Subjects connected with citizenship are also primarily taught in classes or courses, but there we find a substantial minority involved in lecture series and discussion groups. The latter two methods are found even more frequently in the teaching of moral-religious subjects; half of such teaching is conducted in discussion groups. Finally, performing arts are most likely to be taught by private lessons.

Table II-7

Adult Education Subjects by Method of Instruction

	Manual Skills	White Collar Skills	Citizenship	Academic Subjects	Performing Arts	Moral-religious	Recreation
Classes or courses	71%	68%	69%	71%	29%	38%	74%
Lecture series	1	1	13	2	--	12	--
Discussion groups	1	6	19	5	--	50	--
Private lessons	--	--	--	--	57	--	26
Correspondence or TV*	26	22	--	19	10	--	--
Classes plus another type of method	--	3	--	3	5	--	--
Total	99%** (68)	100% (87)	101%** (16)	100% (59)	101%** (21)	100% (26)	100% (23)

*In the entire sample only four people are taking TV courses, so the category of "Correspondence or TV" is composed almost entirely of people taking correspondence courses.

**Columns in this and subsequent tables may not total to 100% because of rounding error.

Not only are there correlations between method and subject, but also between subject and sponsor. Table II-8 shows some clearcut relationships. The most distinct pattern is that all moral-religious subjects taken by participants are given by religious organizations. This is true even though some of the specific topics included under this subject heading refer to relatively secular matters, such as business ethics, and could legally be taught in public educational institutions.

Another relatively clearcut result is that even though academic subjects are taught by all types of organizations, over three-fourths are given by public educational institutions, distributed about equally between high schools, junior colleges, and four-year colleges and universities.

Instruction in manual skills is also offered by most types of organizations which sponsor adult education activity, but is more frequently found in high schools, proprietary schools, and organizations associated with employment. In contrast, instruction in white collar skills is generally sponsored by institutions of higher learning and occasionally by vocational organizations.

Finally, subjects dealing with matters pertinent to citizenship tend to be sponsored by high schools and by military and other governmental organizations, with the residue offered by religious agencies and voluntary associations. "Other educational agencies," which are largely private teachers, and a small proportion of colleges and universities are primarily responsible for performing arts; and recreational activities seem to be the province of voluntary associations, proprietary schools (such as Vic Tanny's and Arthur Murray's Dance Studio) and private instructors.

Table II-8

Adult Education Subjects by Type of Sponsorship

	Manual Skills	White Collar Skills	Citizenship	Academic Subjects	Performing Arts	Moral-religious	Recreation
High schools	28%	13%	31%	29%	5%	--	--
Junior colleges	13	5	--	25	--	--	--
Universities and 4-year colleges	3	34	--	24	19	--	--
Proprietary schools	19	7	--	--	5	--	22%
Other educational agencies	6	3	--	7	52	--	22
Military and other governmental orgs.	10	10	31	3	--	--	--
Employers and other businesses	12	16	--	5	--	--	4
Employee associations	6	6	6	3	--	--	--
Religious organizations	--	--	13	--	--	100%	--
Voluntary associations	--	1	13	2	14	--	35
Other	3	5	6	2	5	--	17
Total	100% (68)	100% (87)	100% (16)	100% (59)	100% (21)	100% (26)	100% (23)

Unless proper care is taken, the results in Table II-8 can be misleading. The question which this table answers is, "To what kind of organization should a person be sent if he wishes instruction on a certain topic?" The table shows where instruction in different subjects is most likely to be found. However, one may also ask about the extent to which different organizations specialize in the various adult education subjects. To get at this question, we have taken the data used in Table II-8 and percentaged it in the opposite direction (see Table II-9).

Table II-9

Type of Sponsorship by Adult Education Subjects

	Manual Skills	White Collar Skills	Citizen-ship	Academic Subjects	Performing Arts	Moral-Religious	Recreation	Other	Various Combinations	Total
High schools	32%	19	8	29	2	--	--	7	3	100% (59)
Junior colleges	31%	14	--	52	--	--	--	3	--	100% (29)
Universities and 4-year colleges	4%	53	--	24	7	--	--	2	10	100% (57)
Proprietary schools	43%	20	--	--	3	--	17	17	--	100% (30)
Other educational agencies	14%	11	--	14	39	--	18	--	4	100% (28)
Military and other governmental orgs.	27%	35	19	8	--	--	--	8	4	101% (26)
Employers and other businesses	28%	50	--	11	--	--	4	--	7	100% (28)
Employee assoc.	27%	33	7	13	--	--	--	13	7	100% (15)
Religious orgs.	--	--	7	--	--	87	--	7	--	101% (30)
Voluntary assoc.	--	5	10	5	14	--	38	19	10	101% (21)

Just as in the preceding table, Table II-9 shows that almost all types of sponsoring organizations provide instruction in manual skills, white collar skills, and academic subjects. There are considerable differences in emphasis among the types of organizations, however. The high schools stress both manual skills and academic subjects, while white collar skills receive somewhat less emphasis. Junior colleges also stress manual skills and academic subjects, with a heavy emphasis on the latter. White collar skills are heavily emphasized by universities and four-year colleges, as are, to some degree, academic subjects. Altogether, these three educational institutions devote a higher proportion of their offerings to academic training than do any of the other types of sponsors.

In contrast, religious organizations specialize almost exclusively in moral-religious instruction; voluntary associations and private teachers (which constitute the bulk of the "other educational agencies") tend to emphasize the performing arts and recreation. Finally, the proprietary schools, military and other governmental agencies, and the work-connected associations are heavily committed to what we have called the vocationally relevant subjects (manual and white collar skills).

Table II-10 shows that there are also differences in the methods of instruction used by the sponsoring organizations. According to our interview respondents, high schools and junior colleges limit themselves almost completely to classes and courses. Although universities and four-year colleges also predominantly use classes and courses, they additionally offer correspondence courses. And proprietary schools place considerable emphasis on correspondence courses, as do military and other governmental organizations. The sponsors under the rubric "other educational agencies" most frequently use private lessons as their method of instruction, but this is partly a result of our classification since most of these "agencies" are private teachers.

Table II-10

Methods of Adult Education Instruction by Type of Sponsorship

	Classes & Courses	Lecture Series	Discussion Groups	Private Lessons	Correspondence or TV	[illegible]	[illegible]	Total
High schools	93%	3	--	--	--	3	--	99% (59)
Junior colleges	100%	--	--	--	--	--	--	100% (29)
Universities and 4-year colleges	67%	--	--	--	19	10	4	100% (57)
Proprietary schools	37%	3	3	10	47	--	--	100% (30)
Other educational agencies	28%	--	11	46	11	4	--	100% (28)
Military and other governmental orgs.	42%	--	4	--	42	12	--	100% (26)
Employers and other businesses	43%	4	11	4	28	11	--	101% (28)
Employee assoc.	47%	13	27	--	7	7	--	101% (15)
Religious orgs.	37%	17	47	--	--	--	--	101% (30)
Voluntary assoc.	62%	--	19	5	--	14	--	100% (21)

The methods of employers and other business organizations are remarkably diverse. Among these sponsors all methods are represented, although classes and correspondence courses predominate. The heaviest use of lecture series and discussion groups occurs among employee associations and religious organizations.

At this point one wonders why these differences in methods of instruction exist. Do they derive from the structure of the organizations themselves, or do they exist because different organizations specialize in teaching different subjects, and certain methods are better adapted to some subjects than to others? Table II-11 was prepared to answer this question. In order to have sufficiently large numbers to make comparisons reliable, we have combined the many types of sponsors, instructional methods, and subjects. Specifically, the table compares public educational institutions (high schools, colleges, and universities) to all other types of sponsors, classes and courses to all the other modes of instruction, and the vocationally-relevant subjects (manual and white-collar skills) to all other subjects.

Table II-11

Methods of Instruction and Type of Sponsorship, by Subject Matter

	Manual and White Collar Skills		Other Subjects		Total	
	Public Educ. Inst.	Other Orgs.	Public Educ. Inst.	Other Orgs.	Public Educ. Inst.	Other Orgs.
Proportion of instruction taught in classes or courses	92% (75)	48% (80)	76% (70)	39% (112)	84% (145)	43% (192)

In brief, the table indicates that the mode of instruction is not primarily due to the types of subjects offered, but depends rather on the character of the organization which offers instruction.

The right-hand third of the table shows that 84 per cent of the instruction in public educational institutions takes place in classes, compared to 43 per cent in the other types of sponsoring organizations. This is a 41 percentage point difference. The left-hand third of the table indicates that the difference is 44 percentage points when only instruction in manual and white collar skills is considered, and this difference is 37 percentage points in all other types of subjects. These differences, then, are quite similar, so that the original strong relation between type of sponsoring organization and mode of instruction is relatively undisturbed. The public educational institutions place much heavier emphasis on classes and courses than do the other sponsoring agencies, and these differences in modes of instruction are not due to differences in the types of subjects being offered. This finding suggests a certain rigidity in public education, and an unwillingness to experiment with varying instructional formats.

The interrelations of three other variables mentioned earlier have not yet been discussed: the reasons for participating in adult education activity, the duration of these activities, and the frequency of their meetings. The question of motivation will be examined more thoroughly in a subsequent chapter, since it properly belongs with the factors influencing participation rather than with the nature of participation itself. The other two items, (frequency and duration) show relatively little variation and can be summarized thus:

Methods which have lower rates of frequency: discussion groups and correspondence courses.
Methods which have the highest rates of frequency: classes or courses and private lessons.
Subjects which have lower rates of frequency: manual skills, white collar skills, and citizenship (the others are higher and about equal).
Sponsoring organizations which have the highest rates of frequency: formal educational institutions (high schools, junior colleges, and universities and 4-year colleges).
Methods of lesser duration: lecture series.
Subjects of lesser duration: citizenship.

The above variations are relatively minor; the majority of all types meet weekly or more often and extend to ten or more meetings.

Summary

In this Section we have discussed some of the meanings of adult education, and the various types of activities, methods, and sponsoring agencies reported by participants in the city of Oakland. We have concluded that adult education is not a unitary phenomenon; it is composed of the most diverse kinds of activities and organized and sponsored by a vast assortment of organizations and institutions.

In this variety some patterns do exist, however. Most of the participation takes place in classes or courses; most of the subjects studied deal with manual skills, white collar skills, and academic subjects; the aim of about half the participants is vocational aid; almost half the activities reported are sponsored by formal educational institutions (high schools, junior colleges, and four-year colleges and universities); the great majority of the activities are scheduled for ten or more meetings; and at least three-fourths of the groups meet once a week or more often.

These facts are also interconnected. Ninety per cent or more of the offerings in manual skills, white collar skills, and academic subjects are presented in classes or correspondence courses, and most of the instruction in citizenship subjects and in recreation are also given in classes. In contrast, performing arts is generally taught by private lessons and moral-religious subjects tend to be presented in discussion groups.

The subject matter of the activities reported is also related to the types of sponsoring organization. Moral-religious instruction is given exclusively by religious organizations, performing arts usually by private agencies, recreation predominantly by voluntary associations, academic subjects by the formal educational institutions, and citizenship courses about equally distributed between high schools and governmental agencies, with some by religious organizations and voluntary associations. Almost all sponsoring organizations offer instruction in manual and white collar skills, the two subjects most intimately connected with the labor market.

The methods of instruction used by the various sponsoring agencies also differ. Formal educational institutions rely almost completely on classes or courses, proprietary schools and government organizations use correspondence courses more frequently than other types of agencies, and employee associations and religious organizations give relatively more emphasis to lecture series and discussion groups. Furthermore, these differences in methods persist independently of subject matter.

There are also variations in the frequency of meetings and planned duration of activities. These differences are minor, however; most groups meet once a week or more often, and are scheduled for at least ten meetings.

Chapter 5: Variations in the Gross Participation Rate

Our strategy in this monograph is to move from a treatment of the analytically simple to the more complex. Though we have argued and shown that participation in adult education activities is not a unitary phenomenon, in this chapter we shall treat it as such and investigate the variation of the simple participation rate in different social and cultural groups. In the next Section we shall move to a more complex analysis by examining the relations between different groups and different types of participation.

As in the previous chapter, we begin with the simple descriptive relations between various characteristics and participation. These may be classified, for convenience, into three types: (1) socio-economic variables, (2) other status variables, and (3) variables dealing with cultural and leisure activities. After this presentation, we shall examine the joint effects of these variables on the participation rate.

Our data from the Community Survey are, of course, limited since the primary purpose of the survey was to locate participants and not to gather a wealth of information. Nevertheless, we have analyzed the data in considerable detail, because they provide a picture which is generally representative of a large section of Oakland. Our subsequent analysis of the Matched Sample Survey (in Part III) will prove useful for investigating certain relationships in great detail, but will not apply to the population in Oakland.

Participation and Socio-Economic Status

In the Community Survey we gathered information about a number of characteristics which may be loosely categorized under the rubric of socio-economic status. These variables include the respondents' usual occupation, current employment status, education, family income, and place of current residence. The relations between these variables and participation in adult education are presented below.

As has been found in most surveys, there is a relation between occupation and participation. The right-hand column in Table II-12 shows that almost a fifth of those in upper white collar jobs participate in adult education, while slightly less than a tenth of those in lower blue collar jobs participate. The contrast is even more pronounced if we examine the more detailed information. Almost a fourth of the professionals participate as compared to only a twentieth of the unskilled workers and laborers.

There is considerable variation, however, within each of the occupational strata. Within the white collar occupations, small businessmen have a low rate of participation, amounting to only nine per cent; in the blue collar occupations foremen also have a low rate, almost as low as that of unskilled workers.

The first column, containing the most detailed information, reveals even more internal variation. Only the semi-skilled group is fairly homogeneous. Although the small number of cases calls the reliability of the information into question, the large variations within the four major occupational groups suggest caution in the interpretation of results to be presented in the remainder of this chapter. Overlap between groups does exist, and gross comparisons are not intended to imply absolute, but merely relative, differences (1).

The table also reveals the over-all participation rate to be twelve per cent, slightly higher than the national average but not so much as to make us suspect the validity of our interview responses (2).

Table II-13 indicates the differences in participation rates among those of different employment statuses. Most of the respondents are employed full-time, and their participation rate is about the same as the over-all rate. However, part-time employees have high rates (partly, we suspect, because they have more time to participate), while the rest have lower rates than those working full-time. The reasons for these differences will become clearer later in this chapter when we submit the participation rates to a more complex analysis. For the present, we are merely describing these differences without attempting to account for them.

Table II-12

Participation Rates in Various Occupations

Self-employed traditional professionals	38% (24)		
Salaried traditional professionals	13% (40)		
Self-employed marginal professionals	17% (6)		
Salaried marginal progessionals	22% (64)		
Other traditional professionals	30% (43)		
Other marginal professionals	17% (59)		
Total, professionals		22% (236)	
Owners and managers of large and medium-sized firms	19% (16)		
Professionals in management positions	40% (20)		
Non-professionals in management positions	10% (104)		
Supervisors, white collar and mercantile	17% (108)		
Total, managerial		16% (248)	
Total, upper white collar			19% (484)
Small business, mercantile	14% (7)		
Small business, crafts	9% (22)		
Very small business, mercantile	11% (81)		
Very small business, crafts	9% (106)		
Other small business	0% (9)		
Total, small business		9% (225)	
Artists, athletes, entertainers	23% (26)		
Quasi-professional sales and financial workers	14% (71)		
Total, middle service stratum		16% (97)	
Clerical and kindred, supervise 1 to 4	16% (32)		
Clerical and kindred, no subordinates	18% (169)		
Sales workers, supervise 1 to 4	11% (18)		
Sales workers, no subordinates	14% (64)		
Other white collar	0% (14)		
Total, clerical and sales		16% (297)	
Total, lower white collar			14% (619)
Foremen, supervise 10 to 49	3% (64)		
Foremen, supervise less than 10	7% (59)		
Foremen, protective service	33% (3)		
Other foremen	11% (19)		
Total, foremen		6% (145)	
Skilled workers, supervise 1 to 4	13% (127)		
Skilled workers, no subordinates	13% (400)		
Other skilled workers	3% (37)		
Total skilled workers		12% (564)	
Total, upper blue collar			11% (709)
Semi-skilled workers, supervise 1 to 4	8% (60)		
Semi-skilled workers, no subordinates	11% (469)		
Protective service workers	9% (44)		
"Personal" service workers	8% (88)		
Other semi-skilled workers	8% (25)		
Total, semi-skilled workers		10% (686)	
Laborers and other unskilled workers		5% (150)	
Total, lower blue collar			9% (836)
Unemployed, retired			11% (18)
No answer and unclassified			17% (42)
Grand Total			12% (2708)

Table II-13

Participation Rate by Employment Status

Employed full-time	13%	(2468)
Employed part-time	24%	(45)
Unemployed, out of a job	11%	(85)
Unemployed, laid off temporarily	2%	(53)
Retired	4%	(28)
Other	0%	(28)
Employment status unknown	0%	(1)
Total participation rate	12%	(2708)

Another important part of socio-economic status is the amount of formal education received. As Table II-14 shows (and as has been found in other studies of adult education participation) the more education a person has the more likely he is to engage in educational activities. The relation is impressive with participation rates ranging from two per cent of those who have fewer than five years of education to 23 per cent of those with a college degree. There also appears to be a noticeable difference between those who went to college but did not obtain a degree, and those who have never had any connection with college. Looking down the column, the biggest difference between adjacent participation rates is found between high school graduates and those who attended at least one year of college. In contrast, the difference between the latter and those who graduated from college is minor.

Table II-14

Participation Rate by Formal Education

Four or more years college	23%	(370)
One to three years college	21%	(453)
High school graduate	10%	(983)
Ten to eleven years education	9%	(364)
Nine years education	3%	(99)
Five to eight years education	6%	(312)
Less than five years education	2%	(59)
Amount of education unknown	4%	(68)
Total participation rate	12%	(2708)

From the discussion so far it appears safe to say that socio-economic status has a connection with participation. At least we found this to be true for two of the most important factors constituting socio-economic status: occupation and education. However, we find only a small relation between participation and family income (see Table II-15); since income is a third important element in socio-economic status, the relation between it and participation is not as simple as it would seem at first glance.

Table II-15

Participation Rate by Yearly Family Income

More than $10,000	15%	(279)
$7,000 to $10,000	14%	(564)
$4,000 to $7,000	12%	(1100)
Less than $4,000	11%	(325)
Refused, did not answer question	9%	(440)
Total participation rate	12%	(2708)

Another variable which is part of the complex designated as socio-economic status is the location of residence. Past research has found that poorer sections of a city usually have lower participation rates. However, this is not the case in Oakland. If we divide the sampled tracts into three strata according to mean rents paid, we find no difference in participation rates between the high and low rental areas.

Table II-16

Participation Rate by Mean Rental Strata

Higher mean rental	13% (815)
Average mean rental	13% (909)
Lower mean rental	12% (984)
Total participation rate	12% (2708)

These, then, are the simple descriptive associations between socio-economic characteristics and participation in adult education: the better educated and those in white collar occupations are more likely to participate; those working part-time are more likely to participate than those working full-time, who in turn are more likely to participate than the unemployed or retired; there is only a small relation between family income and participation, with those in the higher income brackets somewhat more likely to participate; and there is no association between participation and the mean rental of the area in which respondents live. The joint relations of these variables and adult education participation will be explored later in this chapter.

Other Status Characteristics

Socio-economic status is, of course, not the only indicator of an individual's place in his society. Three other characteristics about which we asked questions were age, marital status, and race.

Table II-17 indicates that age is strongly related to participation. As previous surveys have found, and as we have discovered as well, younger men are more likely to participate than the older.

Table II-17

Participation Rate by Age

20 to 29	20% (568)
30 to 39	15% (631)
40 to 49	10% (738)
50 to 59	7% (747)
Age unknown	4% (24)
Total participation rate	12% (2708)

There is also an association between marital status and participation (Table II-18). Single and divorced people are somewhat more likely to participate than the average, while those who are separated or widowed are less likely to participate. (It should be kept in mind that marital status is also related to age, so that these associations may not be independent. We shall explore this possibility in the latter half of this chapter.) Since married males account for the bulk of the sample (84 per cent), their participation rate is the same as the over-all rate.

Table II-18

Participation Rate by Marital Status

Single	16% (332)
Divorced	14% (65)
Married	12% (2264)
Separated	8% (25)
Widowed	0% (20)
Marital status unknown	50% (2)
Total participation rate	12% (2708)

In contrast to the effects of age and marital status, there seems to be no relation between participation and race (Table II-19). This is surprising, because Negroes are generally less well educated and occupy "lower" occupations than whites. The previous tables showed education and occupation strongly related to participation, and yet they do not seem to have any effect circuitously through race. Once again, this poses a question to which we shall return later in this chapter.

Table II-19

Participation Rate by Race

White	12% (2043)
Negro	13% (558)
Oriental	11% (72)
Other	9% (23)
Refusals and no answer	8% (12)
Total participation rate	12% (2708)

In summary, then, we have found both age and marital status associated with participation, while race is not. Specifically, younger men are more likely to participate than older; the single and divorced are more likely to participate than the married, who in turn are more likely to participate than the separated or widowed. There are no differences in the participation rates of white, Negroes, and Orientals.

Participation and Cultural Activities

In addition to the questions concerning status characteristics, we inquired about the social and cultural activities in which our respondents might be engaged. Specifically, we asked about the extent to which they watch television, how often they visit with neighbors and relatives, and the nature of their favorite leisure time activity.

As Table II-20 indicates, there are striking differences between those who watch television and those who do not--the former are much less likely to participate than the latter, and the more time they spend watching television the less likely they are to participate.

Table II-20

Participation Rate by Average Time Spent Watching Television Each Day

Not at all	23% (274)
Some, but less than 1/2 hour	19% (281)
1/2 hour to 2 hours	14% (983)
2 to 4 hours	9% (894)
4 or more hours	6% (244)
No answer	3% (32)
Total participation rate	12% (2708)

This finding could, at first glance, be interpreted merely in terms of the competition for people's time by various activities. Although this interpretation seems plausible, its weakness is indicated in Table II-21, which shows that the more one visits neighbors and relatives, the *more* likely one is to participate in adult education. Apparently what is important here is a *passive* as opposed to an active attitude toward activities. Television viewing is passive, demanding no engagement by the viewer, while visiting and educational activities require an active participation. This interpretation cannot be *tested* with the data available in the Community Survey. However, the results gave us a clue to the possible importance of leisure activities, and we asked a whole series of questions in the Matched Sample Survey to test the interpretation given above.

Table II-21

Participation Rate by Extent to Which Neighbors and Relatives are Visited

More than twice a week	15%	(511)
Usually once or twice a week	14%	(1155)
Once or twice a month	9%	(406)
A few times a year or less	10%	(563)
Extent of visiting unknown	3%	(73)
Total participation rate	12%	(2708)

Table II-22 presents participation rates according to the favorite leisure activity of the respondents. Despite the fact that about half of the participants are motivated to engage in adult education for vocational reasons, the highest rates are found among those whose favorite activity is art, music, or serious reading. Next in line are organizational and charitable activities (usually engaged in by upper white collar groups) and general social activities. The lowest rates are found among those who favor non-serious reading, working around the house, or engaging in relatively frivolous activities such as "loafing," "sleeping," "eating," "driving," or "drinking."

Table II-22

Participation Rate by Favorite Leisure Time Activity

Art and music activities	23%	(91)
Serious reading	22%	(125)
Organizational and charitable	19%	(63)
Informal social activities	17%	(106)
Hobbies and crafts	14%	(302)
Sports and outdoor activities	12%	(826)
TV, movies, and other mass entertainment	10%	(440)
Work around the house	9%	(210)
Aimless, frivolous activities	9%	(127)
Other and unclassifiable	9%	(186)
Non-serious reading	8%	(143)
Favorite activity unknown	12%	(89)
Total participation rate	12%	(2708)

In summary, we have thus far presented the variations in participation among the socio-economic and socio-cultural groups about whom we have information. In general, participation seems to be connected with socio-economic status, although this connection depends on the component of socio-economic status referred to (participation varies by education and occupation, only slightly by family income, and not at all by place of residence). Participation also varies with age and marital status, though not with race, and it also varies with different kinds of leisure activities. The question remains, do different variables independently affect participation, or does the variation in one or two variables account for the variations in the others? To these questions we address the remainder of this chapter.

Participation Rates Examined Jointly

Anyone familiar with the facts of social stratification, regardless of the particular society in question, knows that the different components of socio-economic status are correlated. Thus, the more highly educated tend to get higher incomes, to have more prestigious occupations, and to live in the more expensive sections of the city; conversely, the less educated tend to have lower incomes, to hold unskilled or semi-skilled blue collar jobs, and to live in the less expensive and less desirable areas. As Table II-23 illustrates, these facts of life also prevail in the city of Oakland.

Table II-23

Education, Occupation, Income, and Residential Stratum

Education	Occupation	Income	Higher Mean Rental	Average Mean Rental	Lower Mean Rental	Total
Some College or more	White collar	Over $7,000	51%	32	16	99% (307)
		Under $7,000	35%	33	31	99% (201)
	Blue collar	Over $7,000	34%	42	24	100% (74)
		Under $7,000	27%	34	39	100% (119)
High school graduate	White collar	Over $7,000	56%	29	14	99% (131)
		Under $7,000	24%	41	35	100% (159)
	Blue collar	Over $7,000	32%	41	27	100% (153)
		Under $7,000	24%	33	43	100% (358)
Less than high school graduate	White collar	Over $7,000	40%	31	29	100% (35)
		Under $7,000	26%	32	42	100% (78)
	Blue collar	Over $7,000	19%	39	42	100% (135)
		Under $7,000	15%	30	54	99% (454)
GRAND TOTAL			36%	34	30	100% (2204)

Table II-23 also shows that all three status variables--education, occupation, and income--have independent effects on the fourth status variable, place of residence. That is, within each occupational and educational stratum, the level of income has an effect on residence; within each educational and income stratum, the level of occupation has an effect on residence; and within each occupational and income stratum, the degree of education has an effect on residence. All effects, except one, are in the expected direction (among white collar people who have incomes over $7,000, the college educated are somewhat less likely to live in high rental areas than high school graduates; both, however, are more likely to live in high rental areas than those who do not have a high school diploma).

We have included Table II-23 here for two reasons. First, we wanted to provide the reader with an example of a multivariate association in which the three socio-economic variables--education, occupation, and income--have partly independent and additive effects on the distribution of a fourth variable, which in this case is place of residence. As we shall demonstrate, this structure of interrelationships does not exist when the fourth variable is participation in adult education. Secondly, we wanted to elucidate the puzzling finding described previously, namely, that place of residence is unrelated to participation in adult education. This finding is still puzzling, since education and occupation, which are rather strongly related to participation, are also related to place of residence. We shall examine this matter in detail below.

What, then, is the simultaneous relation between the three major status variables and participation in adult education? Does it have a structure such as we found in Table II-23, or is this structure substantially different?

Since income originally had little effect on participation, we give the simultaneous relation between education, occupation, and participation first. As Table II-24 shows, the structure of the relation is substantially different from that in Table II-23. Instead of additive effects, we find that the original relation between occupation and participation is primarily due to the effect of education. Within each educational stratum, the disparities in the participation rates of the different occupational strata have either disappeared or have been substantially reduced. Conversely, within each occupational stratum the differences in the participation rates of the various educational strata have remained relatively intact.

Table II-24

Education and Occupation, by Participation

Education	Occupation	Participation Rate	
Some college or more	Upper white collar	22% (367)	
	Lower white collar	22% (221)	
	Upper blue collar	24% (116)	
	Lower blue collar	20% (104)	
	Total		22% (808)
High school graduate	Upper white collar	10% (93)	
	Lower white collar	9% (268)	
	Upper blue collar	11% (293)	
	Lower blue collar	10% (303)	
	Total		10% (957)
Less than high school graduate	Upper white collar	11%* (18)	
	Lower white collar	9% (121)	
	Upper blue collar	6% (272)	
	Lower blue collar	6% (405)	
	Total		6% (816)
Total	Upper white collar	19% (478)	
	Lower white collar	14% (610)	
	Upper blue collar	11% (681)	
	Lower blue collar	9% (812)	
GRAND TOTAL			12% (2581)

*This rate is unreliable, because it only refers to eighteen people.

It appears, therefore, that the participation rates differ in the various occupational groups because the proportions who are educated differ. The more prestigious and responsible the occupation, the larger the proportion of educated; and the larger the proportion of educated, the more liklihood of adult education participation. Those who have more education tend to continue with educational activities, while those who have less tend to stop at the end of their formal schooling.

When we began this research project, we wished to determine why blue collar groups participated in adult education less than white collar groups. It might seem that we have already arrived at the answer: blue collar groups participate less because they are less educated, and the less educated participate less in adult education. As is readily apparent, this merely leads to a reformulation of the original question. The questions we must raise now are (1) are there any other factors, in addition to education, which are important in determining participation, and (2) what is there about formal education which favors participation in adult education?

The first question must be asked because, in each educational category, the majority still do not participate. Even among college graduates, where the participation rate is highest, three out of four do not participate. What, then, are the additional factors which explain why these people, who are most favorably oriented to adult education, do not participate?

The second question is requisite because formal education has many meanings. It may be that the better educated see more clearly that education can be a channel for advancement, and participate more for this reason. On the other hand, formal education may lead to a different style of life, one which is concerned with new ideas, which in turn may lead to greater participation in educational activities in general and adult education in particular. Still another possibility is that a college education creates greater interest in organizational activity generally, so that greater participation in adult education is not the result of an interest in education per se, but merely the consequence of greater participation in organizations. There are, of course, a host of other possible interpretations, and we shall examine this question in greater detail in our analysis of the Matched Sample Survey.

For the time being, we shall rather ask the first question: what other factors are important in determining participation? Table II-25 shows that income, with education held "constant," has little impact. There are some differences in rates of the various income groups within each educational stratum, but these are small and inconsistent. (When both occupation and education are held "constant," there is also no relation between income and participation.)

Table II-25

Education and Income, by Participation

Education	Family Income	Participation Rate	
Some college or more	Over $10,000	20% (167)	
	$7,000-$10,000	23% (216)	
	$4,000-$7,000	25% (273)	
	Under $4,000	20% (55)	
	Total		23% (711)
High school graduate	Over $10,000	8% (84)	
	$7,000-$10,000	12% (202)	
	$4,000-$7,000	9% (416)	
	Under $4,000	12% (113)	
	Total		10% (815)
Less than high school graduate	Over $10,000	7% (28)	
	$7,000-$10,000	5% (143)	
	$4,000-$7,000	7% (394)	
	Under $4,000	7% (153)	
	Total		7% (718)
Total	Over $10,000	15% (279)	
	$7,000-$10,000	14% (561)	
	$4,000-$7,000	12% (1083)	
	Under $4,000	11% (321)	
GRAND TOTAL			13% (2244)

The reader may wonder why we presented the above table at all, since there was only a small relation between income and participation in the first place. The difference in rate between those earning over $10,000 and those earning under $4,000 was only four percentage points. From our data thus far, it could be argued that we should have ignored income for the remainder of the analysis.

That this might have been a mistake is illustrated in Table II-26. In Table II-16 it was shown that participation rates did not differ in the various parts of the city when these were categorized by their mean rental. We found this puzzling, because (1) past research had found such differences to exist in other cities, and (2) both education and occupation are related to place of residence, and both of these are also related to participation. Table II-26 shows that differences do exist in Oakland, but only among the college educated; furthermore, these differences are in the unexpected direction. Thus, among college people, those who live in the lower rental areas have a higher participation rate than those who live in the more expensive areas. Why should this be so? Several possible explanations came to mind, and we examined each of these in turn.

One possible explanation is that the association between participation and residence among the college educated is confounded with age. Even though the more highly educated tend to live in the more expensive areas, the younger men just starting their professional careers would be more likely to live in lower rental areas than the older, more established men. Since the younger also have higher participation rates (see Table II-17), this might produce the result in Table II-26.

Table II-26

Education and Rental Strata, by Participation

Education	Rental Strata	Participation Rate	
Some college or more	Higher mean rental	17% (342)	
	Average mean rental	24% (271)	
	Lower mean rental	27% (210)	
	Total		22% (823)
High school graduate	Higher mean rental	11% (301)	
	Average mean rental	9% (346)	
	Lower mean rental	11% (336)	
	Total		10% (983)
Less than high school graduate	Higher mean rental	7% (161)	
	Average mean rental	7% (270)	
	Lower mean rental	6% (403)	
	Total		6% (834)
Total	Higher mean rental	13% (804)	
	Average mean rental	13% (887)	
	Lower mean rental	12% (949)	
GRAND TOTAL			13% (2640)

In order to examine the validity of this explanation, we compared the participation rates of the college educated living in different rental strata separately for each age group. As Table II-27 shows, within each age group the participation rates are still higher in the less expensive areas. Our proposed explanation is therefore invalid.

Table II-27

Rental Strata and Participation Among the College Educated, by Age

Age	Rental Strata	Participation Rate	
20-29	Higher mean rental	20% (65)	
	Average mean rental	32% (83)	
	Lower mean rental	31% (87)	
	Total		28% (229)
30-39	Higher mean rental	21% (86)	
	Average mean rental	25% (76)	
	Lower mean rental	26% (61)	
	Total		24% (223)
40-49	Higher mean rental	15% (106)	
	Average mean rental	25% (48)	
	Lower mean rental	23% (39)	
	Total		19% (193)
50-59	Higher mean rental	11% (81)	
	Average mean rental	13% (62)	
	Lower mean rental	22% (27)	
	Total		14% (170)
Total	Higher mean rental	16% (338)	
	Average mean rental	24% (269)	
	Lower mean rental	27% (208)	
GRAND TOTAL			22% (815)

Another possible explanation is that the relation between participation and residence among the college educated is confounded by the varying geographical locations of the rental strata. In general, rents tend to vary in the city in an East-West direction: in the eastern part, or hill area, of Oakland the rents are considerably higher than those in the western area toward the San Francisco Bay, which are the flatlands. On the other hand, the location of the institutions of higher learning (junior colleges and the University of California) tend to vary in a North-South direction. Oakland Junior College is located in the northern part of Oakland, and the University is in Berkeley, directly north of Oakland.

As previous researchers have discovered, one factor in adult education participation is proximity to organizations providing instruction. Inspection revealed that the tracts we included in our sample from the northern part of the city are average and lower rental areas, while the higher rental tracts in our sample are located primarily in central and southern Oakland. Since the better educated are more likely to attend higher educational institutions and since most of these institutions are to the north in Oakland, the nature of the sample might explain why the participation rate in the lower rental strata is higher than that in the upper rental strata among the college educated. This difference would merely indicate that those who live in the lower rental strata are closer to the major institutions offering adult education courses and for this reason participate in higher proportions. Since elementary and high schools are spread much more evenly across the city, we would expect the participation rates to be the same in the three rental strata among those who do not have a college education. This is, indeed, the pattern originally found.

Table II-28 supports some of our conjectures, but not others. It is true, for example, that geographical location has an effect among the college educated, but not among others. Those who live in the north-central sections of the city are more likely to participate than those in the central sections, who in turn are more likely to participate than those who live in the southern part of the city. Among high school graduates there are no differences at all (the participation rate in each geographical area is ten per cent), and among those without a high school diploma there are only small and fluctuating differences.

On the other hand, in both the north-central and central areas of the city the college people in the lower rental strata participate more than those who live in the higher rental strata. Only in the southern part of the city are these differences not found among the college educated, and there the data are based on relatively few cases.

On the basis of these results, we hold our second proposed explanation invalid. It is true that geographical location is a factor in the participation of the college educated, but this factor operates in addition to, rather than instead of, the effect of living in high or low rental strata. (Table II-28 is on page 51.)

A third possible explanation we considered was that the effect of residential location on participation among the college educated might be a purely statistical artifact of combining those who had only one to three years of college with those who were college graduates and perhaps had even obtained higher degrees. As Table II-29 indicates, our concern on this score was unnecessary. Amont both types of groups--those with only some college and those with a college diploma or more--the participation rates in the lower rental strata are higher than the rates in the upper rental strata. (Table II-29 is on page 52)

We also wanted to check the possibility that the differential effect of location on participation among the college educated might be due to our combining varied occupational groups. However, as Table II-30 indicates, among those in white collar occupations the participation rate is still higher in the lower rental stratum. The effect is considerably diminished in the blue collar occupations, where the participation rates are about the same in the lowest and highest rental areas and the greatest participation is found in the average rental stratum. We have no ready explanation for this finding. We must conclude that we still have not found the reason for the higher participation rate in the lower rental strata among the college educated. We see in this table that the effect is most pronounced among the college educated in white collar occupations, but the table does not provide us with an explanation for this phenomenon. (Table II-30 can be found on page 52.)

The table, however, is open to interpretation in terms of the differing aspirations of the people living in different rental strata. The argument might be as follows: (1) those who live

Table II-28

Participation Rate and Rental Strata, by Education and Geographical Location of Residence

Education	Geographical Location	Rental Strata	Participation Rates		
Some college or more	North-Central	Higher mean rental	17% (217)		
		Average mean rental	29% (171)		
		Lower mean rental	28% (122)		
		Total, North-Central		24% (510)	
	Central	Higher mean rental	16% (104)		
		Average mean rental	12% (34)		
		Lower mean rental	30% (64)		
		Total, Central		20% (202)	
	South	Higher mean rental	14% (21)		
		Average mean rental	18% (66)		
		Lower mean rental	12% (24)		
		Total, South		16% (111)	
		Grand Total			22% (823)
High school graduate	North-Central	Higher mean rental	11% (170)		
		Average mean rental	9% (164)		
		Lower mean rental	10% (157)		
		Total, North-Central		10% (491)	
	Central	Higher mean rental	11% (71)		
		Average mean rental	9% (56)		
		Lower mean rental	10% (121)		
		Total, Central		10% (248)	
	South	Higher mean rental	8% (59)		
		Average mean rental	10% (126)		
		Lower mean rental	14% (58)		
		Total, South		10% (243)	
		Grand Total			10% (982)
Less than high school graduate	North-Central	Higher mean rental	8% (77)		
		Average mean Rental	6% (98)		
		Lower mean rental	6% (191)		
		Total, North-Central		7% (366)	
	Central	Higher mean rental	4% (22)		
		Average mean rental	5% (43)		
		Lower mean rental	4% (118)		
		Total, Central		4% (183)	
	South	Higher mean rental	8% (62)		
		Average mean rental	8% (129)		
		Lower mean rental	7% (94)		
		Total, South		8% (285)	
		Grand Total			7% (834)
		Total Participation Rate			13% (2639)

Table II-29

Participation Rate and Rental Strata, by Education (College Educated Only)

Education	Rental Strata	Participation Rate
College graduate or more	Higher mean rental	17% (173)
	Average mean rental	27% (119)
	Lower mean rental	31% (78)
1-3 years college	Higher mean rental	16% (132)
	Average mean rental	22% (152)
	Lower mean rental	24% (132)
Total participation rate, college educated		22% (823)

Table II-30

Participation Rate and Rental Strata, by Occupation (College Educated Only)

Occupation	Rental Strata	Participation Rate	
Upper white collar	Higher mean rental	18% (183)	
	Average mean rental	23% (113)	
	Lower mean rental	28% (71)	
	Total		22% (367)
Lower white collar	Higher mean rental	14% (88)	
	Average mean rental	24% (76)	
	Lower mean rental	32% (57)	
	Total		22% (221)
Upper and lower blue collar	Higher mean rental	18% (66)	
	Average mean rental	27% (77)	
	Lower mean rental	21% (77)	
	Total		22% (220)
Total participation rate, college educated			22% (808)

in the less expensive housing areas are less successful in their status position than those living in the more expensive parts of the city, (2) adult education is one possible channel for status advancement, and (3) the less successful would be more likely to aspire to a higher status than those who have already achieved such status, and therefore would be more likely to participate in adult education activity.

This interpretation is also consonent with the findings among the blue collar workers. Their work has relatively low status and their residence is located in a low status area (at least this is a possible interpretation). Their only asset, in terms of status, is their college education. Since they are farther "behind," their aspirations might be diminished, and their participation in adult education therefore lessened. Those blue collar workers who live in the higher rental areas have two things in their favor: the favorable location of their residence, and their college education. They might therefore be more satisfied with their status position, and for this reason participate less in adult education. Finally, the blue collar workers who are in the most ambiguous status position--high education, low occupation, and average residential location--would have the highest aspirations so as to crystallize their status instead of remaining in a relatively ambiguous situation, and would therefore have the highest participation rates in the blue collar group.

Admittedly these interpretations are somewhat farfetched. We have hesitated to introduce mobility aspirations as a factor because participation in adult education is not necessarily motivated by aspirations for higher status and because we have no direct data in the Community Survey on mobility aspirations. Data already presented also would lead us to suspect that interpretation in terms of differential mobility aspirations will not be fruitful. Presumably younger men would be more ambitious than older men, since the young have a longer time period in which to move upward in their careers. Yet as was demonstrated in Table II-27, when age was controlled the lower rental strata still had higher participation rates.

The only relevant data we have concerning status aspirations is whether participation is related to work or not. Participation connected with work ("to help on present job or to help get a different job") can reasonably be interpreted as having a connection with mobility. Although there are kinds of status mobility other than those connected with one's employment, at least we do have data which can be interpreted in terms of aspirations for vocational mobility. Suppose that our interpretation is valid, namely, that the reason for the negative association between participation and rental stratum is the result of the higher mobility aspirations among those who live in the lower rental strata as compared to their equivalents in the upper rental strata. What kind of empirical results would we expect if this explanation were valid? The result should be as follows: the original negative association between participation and rental stratum should be resolved into (1) a highly negative association between job-connected participation and rental stratum, and (2) a zero or positive association between participation which is not job-connected and rental stratum. The original association would thus be shown to exist only among the mobility-oriented and not among those whose participation has no connection with mobility.

The data are presented in Table II-31, and show that our interpretation, given the limited nature of the data, is not valid. Those participating for reasons related to work and those participating for other reasons contribute equally to the differing participation rates in the rental strata. In both groups, those in the lower strata have higher rates than those in the upper rental strata.

Table II-31

Participation and Rental Strata, by Different Motivations for Participation (College Educated Only)

Rental Stratum	Type of Participation		
	Job Connected	Other	Total*
Higher mean rental	10% (342)	7% (342)	17% (342)
Average mean rental	14% (271)	11% (271)	25% (271)
Lower mean rental	15% (210)	12% (210)	27% (210)
Total	12% (823)	10% (823)	22% (823)

*The total participation rate for each rental stratum is the simple sum of the "job-connected" rate and the "other" rate.

So far we have proposed five different explanations for the puzzling finding that among the college educated the participation rate is higher in the lower rental strata than in the upper rental strata. We have examined the relevant data, and found them to be contrary to the findings we should have obtained had our proposed explanations been valid. Since we have used all our available and relevant information, we must leave the puzzle unresolved. Although we could manufacture ad hoc explanations which cannot be tested by the data we have, we feel this to be an undesirable methodological procedure.

As a postscript to the preceding analysis of the effect of residential location on participation we offer the data in Table II-32. A substantial minority of the college educated participants engage in adult education activity at four-year colleges and universities. As the table shows, the rates for this type of participation do not differ substantially between the several rental strata. In contrast, participation in other types of organizations and institutions varies inversely with the cost of rents in the area in which the respondents reside.

Table II-32

Participation and Rental Strata, by Different Sponsoring Organizations (College Educated Only)

Rental Stratum	Type of Participation: At 4-Yr. Colleges or Universities	At Other Types of Organizations	Total*
Higher mean rental	6% (342)	11% (342)	17% (342)
Average mean rental	8% (271)	16% (271)	25% (271)
Lower mean rental	6% (210)	21% (210)	27% (210)
Total	7% (823)	15% (823)	22% (823)

*The total participation rate for each rental stratum is the simple sum of the rate at four-year colleges and universities and the rate of participation at activities sponsored by other types of organizations and institutions.

In the last few pages we have taken a bypath in order to examine a puzzling finding. We return now to the mainstream of the analysis. In summary, our main finding so far has been that education is the major variable which explains participation in adult education activity. Those with more formal education are more likely to participate in adult education than those with less, and this holds true regardless of occupation, income, or residential location. A minor variation on this major theme is that, among the college educated, residential location is an additional important variable--the college educated who live in the northern parts of Oakland are more likely to participate than those who live in southern Oakland, and the college educated in the lower rental tracts are more likely to participate than those who live in the higher rental tracts.

Is it true, however, that the effect of education accounts for the impact of all other statuses? As Table II-33 shows, age has an effect in addition to that of education. In every age group, the younger have higher participation rates than the older; and in every age group, the better educated have higher participation rates than the less well educated. (Table II-33 is on page 55.) Thus there appear to be at least two major influences: level of formal education and position in the life cycle. In the remainder of this chapter we shall see (1) if the effect of these two factors is maintained when other variables are introduced, and (2) whether any of the other variables which we have discussed previously has any effect in addition to education and age.

One of the variables discussed previously was marital status. It was found that the single and divorced were somewhat more likely to participate than the married, and the latter more likely than the separated and widowed (see Table II-18). We speculated that this might be due to the effect of age, since the single tend to be younger than the married, and the younger are more likely to participate. Table II-34 shows that this is indeed the case. Although we are not able to compare the rates for the divorced, separated, and widowed separately because of the small number who have these statuses, a comparison of rates for the single and the married shows them to be approximately the same in each age group. (Table II-34 is on page 55.)

Another matter examined earlier was the possible effect of race on participation. In Table II-19 we found that participation rates were about the same within white, Negro and Oriental groups. Although there were not enough Orientals in the sample to make reliable comparisons, we decided to compare participation rates among whites and Negroes further. Our reason for doing so is as follows: (1) we know that Negroes as a group have less education than whites, (2) we found in this study, and know from previous studies, that those who have less education have lower participation rates, (3) therefore we would expect Negro rates to be lower than white rates. The fact that they are not raises a question to be investigated.

Table II-33

Participation by Education and Age

Education	Age	Participation Rate	
Some college or more	20-29	28% (229)	
	30-39	24% (223)	
	40-49	19% (193)	
	50-59	14% (170)	
	Total		22% (823)
High school graduate	20-29	16% (208)	
	30-39	12% (241)	
	40-49	7% (295)	
	50-59	7% (230)	
	Total		10% (983)
Less than high school graduate	20-29	13% (129)	
	30-39	7% (158)	
	40-49	7% (227)	
	50-59	4% (316)	
	Total		6% (834)
Total	20-29	20% (566)	
	30-39	15% (622)	
	40-49	10% (715)	
	50-59	7% (716)	
	GRAND TOTAL		13% (2619)

Table II-34

Participation by Age and Marital Status

Age	Marital Status	Participation Rate	
20-29	Single	19% (176)	
	Married	21% (374)	
	Other**	11%* (18)	
	Total		20% (568)
30-39	Single	14% (80)	
	Married	15% (527)	
	Other**	13% (23)	
	Total		15% (630)
40-49	Single	13% (38)	
	Married	10% (667)	
	Other**	12% (33)	
	Total		10% (738)
50-59	Single	6% (33)	
	Married	7% (677)	
	Other**	6% (36)	
	Total		7% (746)
Total	Single	16% (327)	
	Married	12% (2245)	
	Other**	10% (110)	
	GRAND TOTAL		12% (2682)

*This percentage is based on too few cases to be reliable

**This category includes divorced, separated, and widowed.

Table II-35 compares Negro and white participation rates within different age and education categories. As the bottom part of the table indicates, the Negro rate is higher than the white in two of the three educational groups. Among the college educated, and among those without a high school diploma, the Negro participation rate is higher than the white. Only among the high school graduates are the Negro and white rates equal.

Table II-35

Participation by Age, Education, and Race
(Whites and Negroes Only)

Education	Age	Race	Participation Rate		
Some college or more	20-39	White	26% (340)		
		Negro	26% (77)		
		Total		26% (417)	
	40-59	White	16% (326)		
		Negro	29% (28)		
		Total		17% (354)	
		Grand Total			22% (771)
High school graduate	20-39	White	15% (324)		
		Negro	15% (94)		
		Total		15% (418)	
	40-59	White	8% (424)		
		Negro	7% (73)		
		Total		7% (497)	
		Grand Total			11% (915)
Less than high school graduate	20-39	White	9% (208)		
		Negro	10% (84)		
		Total		9% (292)	
	40-59	White	3% (363)		
		Negro	9% (174)		
		Total		5% (537)	
		Grand Total			6% (829)
TOTAL	20-39	White	18% (872)		
		Negro	17% (255)		
		Total		18% (1127)	
	40-59	White	8% (1113)		
		Negro	10% (275)		
		Total		9% (1388)	
Some college or more	Total	White	21% (666)		
		Negro	27% (105)		
		Total			22% (771)
High school graduate		White	11% (748)		
		Negro	11% (167)		
		Total			11% (915)
Less than high school graduate		White	5% (571)		
		Negro	9% (258)		
		Total			6% (829)
	Total Participation Rate				13% (2515)

From the middle section of the table it is evident that age does not affect the relation between race and participation. In each age group the rates for Negroes and whites are about equal.

However, the main body of the table reveals that age and education have a combined effect on the relationship between rate and participation. Among younger men (ages 20-39) the rates for Negroes and whites are the same, regardless of the amount of formal education they have. Similarly, among older men (ages 40-59) who are high school graduates, Negro and white participation is the same. The difference between Negroes and whites appear among the older, college educated respondents, and among the older men with less than a high school diploma. In both these groups the Negro rate is higher than the white--in the former group it is almost twice as high and in the latter three times greater.

There are two questions concerning these results: (1) why should Negro participation rates be as high as white, even though Negroes have, as a group, a lesser amount of formal education? (2) why should Negro rates be higher than white rates among the older men with the highest and lowest amounts of formal education?

For answers to these questions we must depend on general information available in the relevant literature, since we have come to the limit of the data gathered in the Community Survey.

Negroes are, to some extent, an autonomous cultural group. Though they are predominantly working class, they differ from others in low socio-economic statuses in at least two ways relevant to us here. First, they tend to participate more in voluntary organizations than do others of their socio-economic level; second, they aspire to higher formal education and are more favorably inclined toward education in general than their social class peers (3). We suggest that these two factors are sufficiently potent to bring their total participation rate equal to whites, though the latter are the better educated group.

The relative cultural autonomy of Negroes might also bear on our second question. Groups whose boundaries are clearly defined and who have a private distinguishing culture tend to be relatively homogeneous internally. Thus we find that among the Negroes who are college educated, and among those who have less than a high school diploma, the rates of participation do not differ by age. The older Negroes have the same participation rates as the younger ones in these two educational categories. Admittedly this is not true among high school graduates where the younger participate at double the rate of the older men. Since we do not have a sufficient number of cases to investigate these conjectures further by analysis of the data, the meaning of this particular finding unfortunately remains unclear.

The other variables about which we gathered information are in the area of cultural activities. Specifically, these are the time spent watching TV, the amount of visiting with neighbors and relatives, and favorite leisure activity--all voluntary pastimes.

As was shown earlier, each of these is associated with participation in adult education (see Tables II-20, II-21, and II-22). Some are more highly associated with participation than others: TV viewing and favorite leisure activity are rather highly connected while visiting with relatives and neighbors is only slightly related to participation.

Tables II-36 and II-37 indicate that each of these variables is also associated with the degree of formal education. Thus, the better educated are less likely to spend much time (two or more hours a day) watching television, and are more likely to spend time with neighbors and relatives. The associations between these variables and education are very similar, both in direction and in size, to their association to adult education participation.

Table II-36

Education by TV Viewing and by Visiting With Neighbors and Relatives

	Education					
	Some college or more		High school graduate		Less than high school grad.	
Watch TV two or more hours a day	28%	(815)	44%	(973)	54%	(829)
Visit neighbors and relatives once a week or more	66%	(811)	65%	(955)	59%	(814)

Similarly, Table II-37 indicates that the favorite activities which have the highest association with participation are also the ones favored by a relatively higher proportion of the better educated, while the activities having the lowest association with participation are favored by a relatively higher proportion of the less educated. Since the activities are listed in order, from those associated with the highest participation rates to those with the lowest, the general pattern is easily observed.

Table II-37

Education by Favorite Leisure Time Activity

	Education Some college or more	 High school graduate	 Less than high school grad.
Art and music activities	6%	4%	2%
Serious reading	11	4	2
Organizational and charitable	2	2	3
Informal social activities	4	4	5
Hobbies and crafts	12	13	13
Sports and outdoor activities	35	39	27
TV, movies, and other mass entertainment	13	18	23
Work around the house	7	8	11
Aimless, frivolous activities	3	4	8
Non-serious reading	7	4	6
Total	100% (747)	100% (878)	100% (753)

Since the activities discussed above have about the same relation to education as to participation, we might suspect that the introduction of education into the relations between leisure activities and participation would dissolve the associations discovered. This, however, is not the case.

Table II-38 shows the relation between TV viewing and participation within separate age and education categories. It is clear that TV viewing is inversely associated with participation regardless of age and education; age is inversely related to participation regardless of education and TV viewing; and education is directly associated with participation regardless of age and TV viewing. Each of these three variables has separate effects on participation in adult education. (Table II-38 is on page 59.)

A similar, though not as clearcut, finding is revealed when we examine the relation between participation and visiting (Table II-39). Of the eight discrete comparisons made, six have the same relation as the original. Only at the two extremes (the young college-educated, and the older without a high school diploma) is the original relation so altered that it essentially disappears. And this may be partly because the original relation was not very large. (Table II-39 is on page 60.)

When we examine the associations between participation and favorite leisure activity (Table II-40), the results are similar to those found in the preceding two tables. In seven out of eight comparisons, the original relation is maintained. Only among the older college-educated men does favorite leisure activity seem to have no effect. (Table II-40 is on page 61.)

On the basis of these last three tables, therefore, we conclude that, in addition to age and education, the style of life is a major factor in participation. Although types of cultural activities vary according to socio-economic status, it is also true that style of life has an additional effect which is independent of the effect of socio-economic status.

At this point we might be charged with promoting a tautology. As indicated in our introduction, the distinction between adult education and some other kinds of activities is somewhat arbitrary. For example, the major difference between reading a book for a Great Books discussion group and reading that same book alone is that the former takes place in an organizational setting. It could be argued that this difference is essentially irrelevant, since the important

Table II-38

Participation and TV Viewing, by Age and Education

Education	Age	TV Viewing	Participation Rate	
Some college or more	20-39	Less than 2 hrs/day	29% (319)	
		2 or more hrs/day	20% (127)	
		Total		26% (446)
	40-59	Less than 2 hrs/day	19% (256)	
		2 or more hrs/day	10% (105)	
		Total		17% (361)
		Grand Total		22% (807)
High school graduate	20-39	Less than 2 hrs/day	15% (213)	
		2 or more hrs/day	14% (215)	
		Total		14% (428)
	40-59	Less than 2 hrs/day	10% (305)	
		2 or more hrs/day	4% (199)	
		Total		8% (504)
		Grand Total		11% (932)
Less than high school graduate	20-39	Less than 2 hrs/day	11% (133)	
		2 or more hrs/day	8% (169)	
		Total		9% (302)
	40-59	Less than 2 hrs/day	7% (269)	
		2 or more hrs/day	3% (287)	
		Total		5% (556)
		Grand Total		6% (858)
Total	20-39	Less than 2 hrs/day	21% (665)	
		2 or more hrs/day	14% (511)	
		Total		18% (1176)
	40-59	Less than 2 hrs/day	12% (830)	
		2 or more hrs/day	4% (591)	
		Total		9% (1421)
Some college or more	Total	Less than 2 hrs/day	25% (575)	
		2 or more hrs/day	16% (232)	
		Total		22% (807)
High school graduate		Less than 2 hrs/day	12% (518)	
		2 or more hrs/day	9% (414)	
		Total		11% (932)
Less than high school grad.		Less than 2 hrs/day	8% (402)	
		2 or more hrs/day	5% (456)	
		Total		6% (858)
Total	Total	Less than 2 hrs/day	16% (1495)	
		2 or more hrs/day	9% (1102)	
		TOTAL PARTICIPATION RATE		13% (2597)

Table II-39

Participation and Visiting Neighbors and Relatives, by Age and Education

Education	Age	Visiting neighbors and relatives	Participation Rate	
Some college or more	20-39	Once a week or more	26% (328)	
		Less than once a week	28% (118)	
		Total		26% (446)
	40-59	Once a week or more	20% (206)	
		Less than once a week	12% (152)	
		Total		17% (358)
		Grand Total		22% (804)
High school graduate	20-39	Once a week or more	17% (295)	
		Less than once a week	10% (124)	
		Total		15% (419)
	40-59	Once a week or more	10% (294)	
		Less than once a week	5% (203)	
		Total		8% (497)
		Grand Total		11% (916)
Less than high school graduate	20-39	Once a week or more	11% (201)	
		Less than once a week	4% (98)	
		Total		9% (299)
	40-59	Once a week or more	6% (302)	
		Less than once a week	4% (241)	
		Total		5% (543)
		Grand Total		6% (842)
Total	20-39	Once a week or more	19% (824)	
		Less than once a week	14% (340)	
		Total		18% (1164)
	40-59	Once a week or more	11% (802)	
		Less than once a week	6% (596)	
		Total		9% (1398)
Some college or more	Total	Once a week or more	23% (534)	
		Less than once a week	19% (270)	
		Total		22% (804)
High school graduate		Once a week or more	13% (589)	
		Less than once a week	7% (327)	
		Total		11% (916)
Less than high school graduate		Once a week or more	8% (503)	
		Less than once a week	4% (339)	
		Total		6% (842)
Total	Total	Once a week or more	15% (1626)	
		Less than once a week	9% (936)	
TOTAL PARTICIPATION RATE				13% (2562)

Table II-40

Participation and Favorite Leisure Time Activity, by Age and Education

Education	Age	Favorite Leisure Activity*	Participation Rate		
Some college or more	20-39	High status activities	34% (97)		
		Participation activities	24% (213)		
		Mass activities	22% (100)		
		Total		26% (410)	
	40-59	High status activities	19% (70)		
		Participation activities	15% (137)		
		Mass activities	19% (125)		
		Total		17% (332)	
		Grand Total			22% (742)
High school graduate	20-39	High status activities	23% (52)		
		Participation activities	13% (224)		
		Mass activities	12% (113)		
		Total		14% (433)	
	40-59	High status activities	12% (67)		
		Participation activities	8% (209)		
		Mass activities	4% (176)		
		Total		7% (452)	
		Grand Total			11% (841)
Less than high school graduate	20-39	High status activities	18% (38)		
		Participation activities	9% (132)		
		Mass activities	7% (107)		
		Total		10% (277)	
	40-59	High status activities	12% (52)		
		Participation activities	5% (185)		
		Mass activities	4% (265)		
		Total		5% (502)	
		Grand Total			7% (779)
Total	20-39	High status activities	28% (187)		
		Participation activities	16% (569)		
		Mass activities	14% (320)		
		Total		18% (1076)	
	40-59	High status activities	14% (189)		
		Participation activities	9% (531)		
		Mass activities	7% (566)		
		Total		9% (1286)	
Some college or more	Total	High status activities	28% (167)		
		Participation activities	21% (350)		
		Mass activities	20% (225)		
		Total			22% (742)
High school graduate		High status activities	17% (119)		
		Participation activities	11% (433)		
		Mass activities	8% (289)		
		Total			11% (841)
Less than high school graduate		High status activities	14% (90)		
		Participation activities	7% (317)		
		Mass activities	5% (372)		
		Total			7% (779)
Total	Total	High status activities	21% (376)		
		Participation activities	13% (1100)		
		Mass activities	10% (886)		
		TOTAL PARTICIPATION RATE			13% (2362)

*For the purpose of this table the ten types of leisure activities reported by the respondents had to be combined into three groups so that the percentages would be based on sufficiently large numbers to be reliable. The specific types of activities combined are as follows:

High status activities: serious reading, art and music, organizational and charitable

(footnote continued on next page)

thing is that the book is read. Yet the former is considered participation in adult education while the latter is not.

The data in Table II-40 might therefore be considered redundant. Obviously, it could be argued, the activities which we have classified under "high status activities" are just those activities which are offered in adult education programs. Therefore, the statistical associations would simply be the result of correlating something with itself, since the distinction between adult education and self-education is essentially arbitrary.

The charge of tautology, however, can be legitimately rejected because the data in Table II-40 refer to favored activities. Though a favored activity must be a practiced one, it is also true that all practiced activities are not necessarily favorites. Thus, even though a participant may be required to read serious books for the adult education activity in which he is engaged, he is not required to name this activity as his favorite. Any charge of tautology is therefore unwarranted. Further, such a charge cannot be sustained when the leisure activities include TV viewing or visiting.

Summary

In the first part of this chapter we found several variables related to participation. In attempting to investigate the simultaneous effects of these variables in the second part of the chapter, we have arrived at three major themes with some minor variations.

According to the analysis, participation in adult education can be empirically located in, and is connected with, (1) the education sphere, (2) the life cycle, and (3) the style of life during leisure hours.

In the educational sphere, it is apparent that formal education has a considerable effect on participation in adult education--the more education one has, the more likely one is to participate. Though we lack the relevant data, we might speculate on the reasons for this finding. First, it appears that adult education is not considered a substitute for formal education. If it were, then participation rates should be higher among those with less formal education and this is not the case. To some extent, therefore, leaving school during adolescence is a basic decision which locates an individual in the society for the remainder of his life and this location cannot be changed by the more informal channel of adult education.

The participation of the better educated may be due to the effect of their formal education and also to their subsequent positions after graduation. On the one hand, exposure to large amounts of relatively advanced formal learning may produce an appreciation for educational activities, or for societal participation in general. On the other hand, the better educated are often in the professions, which emphasizes continued learning because of the rapid changes in their funds of knowledge. A final reason for the lower participation rates among the less educated is that adult education programs may be designed so as to appeal primarily to middle class people.

With regard to the life cycle, it was found that age affected participation independently of formal education and style of life. The younger men, those who have just completed their formal education, are more likely to participate than older men. This again appears to indicate that adult education may be considered an extension of, not a substitute for, formal education. The break between graduation and participation in adult life appears to be so sharp that a "half-way house" is required to smooth it. Adult education seems to perform this function, among others, for a substantial proportion of young people. In this sense, adult education is a practical, service-oriented institution which adds a few final adjustments to a young adult's preparation for full maturity.

Marriage and family are also parts of the life cycle, but marital status was found not to have

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activities, and informal social activities.
Participation activities: sports and outdoor activities, and hobbies and crafts.
Mass activities: work around the house; TV, movies, and other mass entertainment; non-serious reading; and aimless or frivolous activities.

any effect beyond that provided by age. This may be explained by the fact that participation in adult education is usually not a family enterprise, and there is no reason why participation should increase upon marriage. Adult education appears to be the result of individual interests. Though it could presumably have a different structure, today it caters to the individual.

During a person's lifetime his interests tend to become stabilized, and the felt need for "outside help" tends to be reduced. Indeed, one of the criteria for adulthood is independence from others. It appears to us that this is a plausible reason for the reduction of participation by age. Even though we as enthusiasts for adult education may feel that the older would benefit from further education as much as the young, this feeling is apparently not shared by the general population.

The third major sphere in which we have found adult education is style of life during leisure hours. The importance of this factor was a surprise to us. We knew that leisure activities differ in the various socio-economic levels; there is an abundant literature on this topic. Because of this, we were unprepared to find this factor to have an additional effect on participation, i.e., in addition to the effect of socio-economic status in general.

Apparently leisure activities are an expression of basic orientations to life itself. Jobs usually demand certain attitudes, though there may be a considerable range of freedom. Leisure time, however, is an almost pure reflection of personal orientations.

One dimension which appears to be important is the distinction between passive and active orientations. A passive orientation may be expressed by large amounts of free time devoted to watching television, an active one by visiting or other informal social activities. From the data it seems clear that people who are active are more likely to participate in adult education than those who are passive. This holds true independently of age and formal education.

The second important dimension is the content of leisure activity. This dimension cuts across the one above, since sports, for example, can be a passive or active activity, as can intellectual or social pastimes. Activity in serious reading, art and music, formal organizations, or informal social activities is more likely to result in adult education participation than activity in sports or hobbies and crafts. Thus, the content of leisure activities is an important indicator of participation.

These, then, are the three major factors--education, age, and leisure life style. For the minor variations we refer the reader to the main text. In the next chapter these factors are examined in more detail by an investigation of different kinds of participation.

Chapter 6: Variations in the Refined Participation Rates

In the last chapter we treated adult education participation as a gross variable without distinguishing between different types of participation. By this means we tried to sketch the most basic structure of the variations in participation rates among different social groups.

Having laid the groundwork we now move on to a more complex examination of variations in different types of participation. Here our analysis will take two forms. First, we shall compare types of participation for the total population, and second, we shall look only at the participants and compare types of participation within this select group. The first method enables us to answer some of the questions posed previously, e.g., we shall show why older people have a lower gross participation rate than men in their twenties and thirties. The disadvantage of this method is that, since the overall gross participation rate is small, the different discrete participation rates, which in sum, make up the gross rate, will be even smaller. Comparisons, therefore, are difficult. The advantage of the second method is that the rates are quite large, since we shall be examining only the participants themselves. However, the associations revealed apply only to the participants and not to the general population (1).

One simple way of distinguishing between different types of participation is by the motives of the participants themselves. As we showed in Table II-3, about half the participants are engaged in adult education activities to help them at their present job or to get a new job, while the other half participate for reasons not connected with their work. Table II-41 shows, as we might expect, that these two groups of participants tend to study different kinds of subjects.

Specifically, the vocationally oriented are most likely to be found in what we have called vocationally relevant subjects. Thus, over three-fourths are studying manual or white collar skills, while only about one sixth of those not vocationally oriented are engaged in such studies. As might be expected, subjects such as citizenship training, performing arts, moral-religious instruction, and recreation are most likely to be taken for non-vocational reasons. The only somewhat surprising result is the over-representation of the non-vocationally oriented in academic subjects. The rate of participation in these subjects, which are usually part of college curricula, is twice as high among the non-vocationally oriented than among the others. Although academic subjects may be occupationally relevant, they tend to be studied for reasons unconnected with the world of work.

Table II-41

Reasons for Participation, by Type of Subjects Studied
(Participants Only)

Type of subject	Job-connected	Not Job-connected
Manual skills	35%	6%
White collar skills	42	10
Citizenship	--	10
Academic subjects	12	24
Performing arts	4	9
Moral-religious	1	15
Recreation	1	14
Other (hobbies, interpersonal relations, etc.)	4	9
More than one type of participation	2	2
Total	101% (166)	99% (160)

The reasons for participating in adult education are also connected with the methods of instruction and the sponsoring organizations involved. As we found earlier, subject matter, method of instruction, and type of sponsoring organization are interrelated. Thus, we would expect the vocationally oriented to be subject to different modes of instruction and in different organizations than those participants whose activities are unrelated to their work.

This is, indeed, the case. As Table II-42 shows, compared to those with non-vocational interests the vocationally oriented are more likely to be in classes and to take courses by correspondence; in turn, the non-vocationally oriented are overrepresented in lecture series, discussion groups, and private lessons.

Table II-42

Reasons for Participation, by Method of Instruction (Participants Only)

Method of instruction	Job-connected	Not Job-connected
Classes or courses only	66%	59%
Lecture series only	1	6
Discussion groups only	3	16
Private lessons only	2	9
Correspondence or TV courses only	23	8
Classes plus another type of instruction	4	3
Other combinations of types of instruction	1	--
Total	100% (166)	101% (160)

Table II-43 reveals a similar pattern of difference, this time in the types of organizations in which activities were carried on. The non-vocational participants are relatively overrepresented in religious institutions, voluntary associations, and private instruction (listed in the table as "other educational organizations"). Those oriented toward work are, as would be expected, more likely to be active in employer and employee associations, which are directly connected with their jobs, and also in formal educational institutions at the college and university level.

Table II-43

Reasons for Participation, by Organizational Sponsorship of Activities (Participants Only)

Organizational Sponsorship	Job-connected	Not Job-connected
High schools	18%	20%
Junior colleges	11	8
Universities and 4-year colleges	24	9
Proprietary schools	10	9
Other educational agencies	6	12
Military and other governmental organizations	8	7
Employers and other businesses	15	3
Employee associations	7	2
Religious organizations	1	18
Voluntary associations	1	12
Total	101% (160)	100% (152)

It turns out that the participants' motivations in participating help to explain why older men have lower participation rates than their younger contemporaries. The relevant data are presented in Table II-44. The right-hand columns of this table show that both vocational and non-vocational participation rates increase as the amount of formal education increases, and that both rates increase in about the same manner. The bottom four rows of the table exhibit a somewhat similar pattern--both types of participation rates increase as the age stratum decreases.

The most interesting finding lies in the main body of the table, however. Previously we wondered why the older have lower participation rates than the younger, and plausible reasons could be generated at will--for example, older people have less energy to take an active part in organized activity, or their heavier responsibilities keep them away, or they are more self-sufficient and less likely to feel the need of outside help in gathering information. The body of the table shows that none of these explanations, however plausible, is correct. Rather, it appears that, when we control the influence of formal education, the older are not as likely to participate because they no longer need vocational information or guidance. The non-vocational participation rates do not decrease with age, but remain relatively constant at each age level when the effect of formal education is controlled.

Table II-44

Reasons for Participation, by Age and Education
(Based on Total Population)

		Participation Rates					
Education	Age	Vocational	Non-vocational				
Some college or more	20-29	16%	10%	(228)			
	30-39	13%	10%	(223)			
	40-49	8%	10%	(193)			
	50-59	5%	8%	(170)			
	Total				11%	10%	(822)
High school graduate	20-29	12%	4%	(208)			
	30-39	6%	6%	(241)			
	40-49	2%	5%	(295)			
	50-59	2%	5%	(230)			
	Total				5%	5%	(983)
Less than high school graduate	20-29	5%	8%	(129)			
	30-39	5%	2%	(158)			
	40-49	2%	5%	(227)			
	50-59	1%	3%	(317)			
	Total				3%	4%	(835)
Total	20-29	12%	7%	(567)			
	30-39	8%	6%	(631)			
	40-49	4%	6%	(738)			
	50-59	2%	4%	(748)			
	Grand Total Participation Rates				6%	6%	(2684)

Vocational participation decreases rapidly with age for two probable reasons: (1) it is more difficult for the older to move about in the labor market, so that they are not likely to take courses to procure better employment, and (2) since the older are more experienced, additional training would probably not provide sufficient occupational benefits to be worthwhile. The other important point to be noted is that, although non-vocational participation rates drop slightly with age, this is due primarily to the effects of formal education. Within the different educational categories, the non-vocational participation rates for the older men is about the same as that for the younger. There appears to be no drop in interest or energy, contrary to what might have been expected.

To complete the picture we have prepared similar tables with regard to the content of the activities, method of instruction, and sponsoring institutions. As we showed in Tables II-41 to II-43, each of these is related to the motivation behind participation--the vocationally motivated tend to take different kinds of courses than others. However, though all these factors are interrelated, the structure of relationships is not as clear-cut as Table II-44 would indicate, partly because the specific rates are too small for useful comparison.

The data in Table II-45 show most clearly the drop in participation in what we have called the vocationally relevant subjects as a generation ages. This pattern is also clear in the academic subjects and in white collar skills, and it also holds true generally in training for manual skills. In other types of subjects the pattern is much more ambiguous, and among college educated men participation in moral-religious instruction tend to increase with age.

Table II-45

Participation Rates (per 100) in Various Subjects, by Age and Education (Based on Total Population)

Education	Age	Manual skills	White Collar Skills	Citizenship	Academic Subjects	Performing Arts	Moral-Religious	Recreation	Other	N
Some college or more	20-29	4.3	9.6	.4	6.5	1.7	.8	.4	1.3	(228)
	30-39	2.6	8.0	.4	6.2	2.2	1.3	1.7	--	(223)
	40-49	2.0	6.2	1.5	3.1	1.5	1.0	1.5	1.0	(193)
	50-59	--	4.7	--	1.7	1.1	2.3	.5	1.7	(170)
High school graduate	20-29	7.2	3.3	--	2.4	--	--	1.9	.4	(208)
	30-39	4.1	1.6	.4	2.0	1.2	.8	.8	.8	(241)
	40-49	.6	2.0	.6	.6	.3	.3	1.0	1.3	(295)
	50-59	1.7	.8	.4	.8	.8	.4	.4	.8	(230)
Less than high school graduate	20-29	2.3	2.3	.7	3.1	--	2.3	.7	.7	(129)
	30-39	3.1	.6	.6	1.2	--	--	1.2	--	(158)
	40-49	2.2	.4	.8	.4	--	2.2	--	.4	(227)
	50-59	.9	.3	.6	--	.3	.6	.3	.6	(317)
Total	20-29	4.9	5.6	.4	4.2	.7	.9	1.1	.9	(567)
	30-39	3.5	3.6	.5	3.3	1.3	.8	1.3	.3	(631)
	40-49	1.5	2.6	1.1	1.2	.5	1.1	.8	.9	(738)
	50-59	.9	1.5	.4	.7	.7	1.1	.4	.9	(748)
Some college or more	Total	2.4	7.4	.6	4.6	1.7	1.3	1.1	1.0	(822)
High school graduate		3.2	1.9	.4	1.4	.6	.4	1.0	.9	(983)
Less than high school grad.		1.9	.7	.7	.8	.1	1.2	.5	.5	(835)
Grand Total		2.5	3.2	.5	2.2	.7	.9	.8	.7	(2640)

Table II-46, which shows the pattern of participation according to methods of instruction, indicates that older men are less likely to attend classes than younger men, and are also less likely to be enrolled in correspondence courses (it should be recalled, from Table II-42, that correspondence courses are taken predominantly for vocational purposes.) Participation in lecture series and discussion groups is much more evenly distributed among the different age groups. Indeed, the highest participation rate in discussion groups is found among the college educated men in their fifties. (Table II-46 is on page 68.)

Table II-47 indicates a pattern somewhat similar to that exhibited in the last three tables. In general, participation tends to decrease with age in most sponsoring organizations (the major exceptions are religious and voluntary associations). The introduction of education into this pattern of relations tends, however, to muddy the pattern considerably. (Table II-47 is on page 69.)

Table II-46

Participation Rates (per 100) and Method of Instruction by Age and Education (Based on Total Population)

Education	Age	Participation Rates (per 100 population)						
		Classes	Lecture Series	Discussion Groups	Private Lessons	Corres-pondence	Classes plus an-other type	N
Some college or more	20-29	16.2	--	2.6	1.3	4.3	3.0	(228)
	30-39	16.5	2.2	1.3	.8	1.8	.8	(223)
	40-49	11.3	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.1	1.5	(193)
	50-59	4.7	1.1	3.5	.5	2.3	.5	(170)
High school graduate	20-29	7.2	--	.9	1.4	5.7	.4	(208)
	30-39	8.2	--	--	.8	2.4	.4	(241)
	40-49	5.0	--	1.0	.6	.3	.3	(295)
	50-59	4.3	.4	.4	.4	.4	.8	(230)
Less than high school grad.	20-29	8.5	--	1.5	--	2.3	.7	(129)
	30-39	4.4	--	--	1.2	1.2	--	(158)
	40-49	4.8	--	1.3	--	.4	--	(227)
	50-59	2.2	.3	.6	--	.6	--	(317)
Total	20-29	11.1	--	1.8	1.1	4.4	1.6	(567)
	30-39	10.3	.8	.5	1.0	1.9	.5	(631)
	40-49	6.6	.3	1.1	.5	1.1	.5	(738)
	50-59	3.5	.5	1.2	.3	.9	.4	(748)
Some college	Total	12.7	1.1	2.1	1.0	2.9	1.7	(822)
High school grad.		6.1	.1	.6	.8	2.0	.5	(983)
Less than high school grad.		4.3	.1	.8	.2	1.0	.1	(835)
Grand Total		7.5	.4	1.1	.6	1.9	.7	(2640)

In summary, we have found that the drop in the gross participation rates among older men is primarily due to their decreased interest in vocational help. Participation in activities unconnected with work does not decrease with age, and as a result, the subjects, modes of instruction, and sponsoring organizations which are primarily involved in non-vocational instruction tend to service older as well as younger men. The data also show that, in general, the better educated have relatively higher participation rates regardless of the nature of the instruction offered, the reasons for attendance, or the types of organizations involved.

Some of these same findings are revealed, perhaps more clearly, when we examine different types of participation among the participants themselves rather than within the population as a whole. Since the distinction between vocational and non-vocational participation is a useful means of classification, we have started with this important variable.

Table II-48 shows, perhaps to the surprise of our readers, that the better educated are relatively more likely to participate in adult education for vocational reasons. Thus, 58 per cent of those without a high school diploma attend for non-vocational purposes, while only 42 per cent of the college graduates are non-vocational participants. Those with a high school diploma and those with one to three years of college are intermediate between the two extremes. (Since the participants as a group are composed of the better educated, we have sufficient numbers to allow us to distinguish in this table between the college graduates and those who had only some college. In previous tables these two groups were combined.)

Table II-47

Participation Rates (per 100) and Sponsoring Organizations by Age and Education (Based on Total Population)

Education	Age	Participation Rates (per 100 population)										N
		High Schools	Junior College	University	Proprietary Schools	Other Educational Agencies	Military and Gov't.	Employers	Employees	Religious	Voluntary	
	20-29	1.7	6.6	8.8	3.5	2.2	.4	1.7	1.3	1.3	--	(227)
Some college or more	30-39	4.5	1.8	6.8	.4	2.2	1.8	.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	(219)
	40-49	2.0	1.0	5.6	.5	2.5	.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	1.0	(193)
	50-59	.5	--	4.1	.5	.5	.5	1.7	1.1	2.3	1.7	(170)
	20-29	3.3	1.9	.4	1.4	1.9	3.3	.9	.9	--	1.4	(208)
High school graduate	30-39	2.9	.4	--	2.1	.8	.4	1.2	.4	.8	1.2	(237)
	40-49	1.3	.3	.3	1.0	.6	.6	.6	--	.3	1.0	(292)
	50-59	1.7	--	.4	.8	.8	1.3	.8	--	.4	.4	(230)
	20-29	3.9	.7	--	.7	--	1.5	2.3	.7	2.3	--	(128)
Less than high school graduate	30-39	3.1	.6	--	1.8	.6	--	.6	--	--	--	(158)
	40-49	1.7	--	--	.4	--	.8	.4	.4	2.2	--	(226)
	50-59	.6	--	--	.3	.3	.3	.3	--	.9	.9	(317)
	20-29	2.8	3.5	3.7	2.1	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.0	1.0	.5	(563)
Total	30-39	3.5	.9	2.4	1.4	1.3	.8	.8	.6	.8	.9	(614)
	40-49	1.6	.4	1.6	.7	.9	.7	1.1	.4	1.4	.7	(711)
	50-59	.9	--	1.1	.5	.5	.6	.8	.2	1.1	.9	(717)
Some college or more		2.3	2.5	6.5	1.3	1.9	.8	1.6	1.2	1.7	.9	(809)
High school graduate	Total	2.2	.6	.3	1.3	1.0	1.3	.9	.3	.4	1.0	(967)
Less than high school grad.		1.9	.2	--	.7	.2	.6	.7	.2	1.3	.3	(829)
Grand Total		2.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	.9	1.0	.5	1.1	.8	(2605)

Table II-48

Reasons for Participation, by Education (Participants Only)

Reasons for participation	Education			
	0-11 years	High school graduate	1-3 years college	College graduate
To help on present job	18%	26%	37%	40%
To help get a new job	24	23	16	11
Not job-connected	58	49	45	42
Some job-connected, other not job-connected	--	2	2	7
Total	100% (55)	100% (100)	100% (94)	100% (85)

This finding is surprising, in view of the usual image of the better educated as the major supporters of the liberal or "liberating" subjects, which by definition are not vocational but "cultural." And yet we find a higher proportion of the better educated to be involved in adult education for vocational reasons. Part of the explanation will be revealed when we examine participation by age and education simultaneously. The better educated are also younger, and this fact is relevant since the younger also tend to be more vocationally oriented. It appears likely, however, that the educated who are interested in liberal learning provide themselves with such an education in their spare time, while using adult education for vocational purposes.

The table also reveals that, among the vocationally oriented, the more educated participate to obtain help in their present job, while the less educated aim to get a new job. The same finding holds true with reference to occupation--upper white collar workers are primarily interested in obtaining help in their present job, while lower blue collar workers participate for aid toward a new job--and is probably due to the relative desirability of jobs at these different levels.

What, now, is the relation between education and the types of subjects in which participants are engaged? Since about half the participants are vocationally oriented, we might expect that they would take subjects which would be in agreement with their level of education (and, implicitly, of their occupation). This is, indeed, the case. The highest proportion of participants who were not graduated from high school take subjects dealing with manual skills; the next highest proportion take moral-religious instruction. Together, these two subjects account for almost half the participation among those with the least formal education. Among the college graduates, the highest percentage learn white collar skills, and the next highest are in academic subjects. These two types of subjects account for more than two-fifths of the participation among college graduates. It is notable that only two per cent of the college graduates are taking courses in manual skills (Table II-49).

A comparison of the percentages across the table shows that vocationally relevant subjects are most clearly related to differences in formal education. As education increases, participation in manual skills decreases and participation in white collar skills and academic subjects increases. The proportion in citizenship courses decreases with education, while participation in the performing arts increases. Moral-religious instruction is relatively more popular with the less well educated, and participation in recreational instruction fluctuates.

Table II-49

Type of Subjects Studied, by Education
(Participants Only)

Type of Subjects Studied	0-11 years	High school graduate	1-3 years college	College graduate
Manual skills	29%	31%	19%	2%
White collar skills	11	19	31	39
Citizenship	11	4	3	2
Academic subjects	13	14	20	22
Performing arts	2	6	9	7
Moral-religious	18	4	5	7
Recreation	7	10	5	5
Other (hobbies, interpersonal relations, etc.)	7	9	3	6
More than one type	2	3	4	9
Total	100% (55)	100% (100)	99% (94)	99% (85)

Table II-49 has revealed substantial differences between educational groups in the types of subjects taken through adult education. We may ask, however, whether these differences are not merely the result of the differences in the reasons for which these subjects are taken. Thus, for example, the college educated are likely to have white collar jobs, so it is reasonable to find that when they participate for vocational reasons they would be most interested in white collar skills and academic subjects. Similarly, those with a high school diploma or less are more likely to have blue collar jobs, so they would be expected to take subjects dealing with manual skills if their participation is connected with their work. The question arises whether there are any substantial differences in the pattern of participation of the various educational groups when their attendance is unrelated to employment.

Table II-50 provides some answers to this question. As expected, more than half of those with a high school education or less who are participating for vocational reasons take subjects dealing with manual skills, although another fourth receive instruction in white collar skills. Conversely, over half of those with some college education who are participating for vocational reasons study white collar skills, with an additional sixth in manual instruction and another seventh in academic subjects. The pattern is quite clear and meets with our expectations.

However, when we compare people in the two educational groups who are not attending for vocational reasons, most of the differences in participation patterns disappear. The only major difference is in the study of academic subjects, where the participation rate of the college educated is almost double that of the less educated. There are other differences, but they are small compared to the large differences found among those who attend adult education activities for job-connected reasons.

Table II-50

Type of Subjects Studied, by Education and Reasons for Participation (Participants Only)

	Job-connected		Not Job-connected	
Type of Subjects Studied	H. S. grad. or less	1 yr. college or more	H. S. grad. or less	1 yr. college or more
Manual skills	54%	17%	9%	4%
White collar skills	24	52	9	12
Citizenship	--	--	12	6
Academic subjects	9	14	17	31
Performing arts	--	6	9	10
Moral-religious	1	--	16	14
Recreation	1	--	16	12
Other (hobbies, interpersonal relations, etc.)	5	2	11	8
More than one type	4	9	1	4
Total	98% (74)	100% (100)	100% (82)	101% (78)

What is the general implication of this finding? We know that gross participation rates rise as formal education increases, and we also know that the different educational groups tend to take different kinds of subjects--those with greater formal education tend to take "white collar" subjects, while the lesser educated generally opt blue collar skills. This is only true, however, because such a large part of participation is vocationally oriented. Among those who participate in adult education for non-vocational reasons, the effect of formal education is relatively small, apparent only in academic subjects in which the college educated are relatively more likely to participate.

This rather surprising result should be examined in connection with the types of organizations offering instruction. The relevant data are presented in Tables II-51 and II-52. As Table II-51 indicates, there are major differences between educational groups with regard to the sponsoring organizations, and these differences are most startling when we compare attendance at the three formal education institutions. Men without college training are most likely to engage in adult education in high school; those with some college but no college degree are most likely to participate in junior college; and those who were graduated from college are most likely to attend a four-year college or university. Attendance clearly tends to take place at the level at which formal education was terminated. These results support our previous contention that a substantial proportion of adult education functions as a "halfway house; to ease the transition between the end of formal education and the beginning of full adulthood.

Table II-51 also reveals other relevant patterns. A comparison of formal educational institutions (combining rates for high school, junior college, and university) with other sponsoring organizations indicates major differences among the four educational groups. Among those without college training, only about a third attend formal educational institutions; among those with one to three years of college, about half attend such institutions; and among those with a college degree, three-fifths attend them, almost half at the university level. The major distinction is between having or not having some college education. The latter do not depend on formal educational institutions as much as the former, and therefore have higher participation rates in proprietary schools, employer and business organizations, and especially in religious organizations (partly due to the high Negro participation in religious instruction, as we shall show subsequently).

Table II-51

Organizations at Which Adult Education Activity is Engaged In, by Education (Participants Only)

Organizations	Education			
	0-11 years	High school graduate	1-3 years college	College graduate
High schools	30%	24%	12%	10%
Junior colleges	4	6	22	1
Universities and 4-year colleges	--	3	15	48
Proprietary schools	11	14	8	5
Other educational agencies	4	11	11	7
Military and other governmental organizations	9	14	6	2
Employers and businesses	11	10	11	4
Employee associations	4	3	4	7
Religious associations	21	4	8	8
Voluntary associations	6	11	2	7
Total	100% (53)	100% (93)	99% (91)	99% (83)

Earlier we asked whether the differences in the participation patterns of educational groups could be due to differences in the reasons for participating in adult education. Now we can ask the same question about the organizations in which participation is centered. Table II-52 shows that among those who attend for vocational reasons the differences in patterns of participation are similar to those shown in the previous table. Thus, the college educated are more likely to attend university adult education courses than those with no college education, who are more apt to take high school courses; the participation of the more highly educated in all formal educational institutions combined is double that of the lesser educated; and the latter are relatively more likely to attend proprietary schools, employer and business organizations, and military or governmental organizations.

On the other hand, among those who participate for non-vocational reasons, the differences between the college educated and the others are much smaller. Indeed, if we combine the three formal educational institutions, the differences are extremely small. As it is, the largest differential is found in attendance at formal educational institutions: the better educated attend high school, junior college, and university courses in about equal proportions, while the less well educated are primarily concentrated in high schools. (Table II-52 is on page 73.)

So far we have examined in detail the participation patterns of the different educational groups. We shall now examine differences between the several age groups. As was noted previously, the gross rates of participation differ considerably according to age, with rates decreasing as people get older. We also found participation for vocational reasons to decrease with age, while participation for non-vocational reasons was about equal for all age groups when the effect of formal education was controlled.

Table II-53 shows that, among participants, non-vocational participation increases with

Table II-52

Organizations at Which Adult Education Activity is Engaged In, By Education and Reasons for Participation (Participants Only)

	Job-connected		Not Job-connected	
Organizations	H. S. grad. or less	1 yr. college or more	H. S. grad. or less	1 yr. college or more
High schools	24%	10%	28%	12%
Junior colleges	8	11	3	13
Universities and 4-year colleges	1	43	3	14
Proprietary schools	15	5	11	8
Other educational agencies	6	6	11	13
Military and other governmental organizations	15	4	9	5
Employers and businesses	20	10	1	4
Employee associations	6	8	1	3
Religious organizations	1	--	19	18
Voluntary associations	3	1%	15	9
Total	99% (71)	98% (97)	101% (75)	99% (76)

age, running from 36 per cent in the twenties to 62 per cent in the fifties, although it is about the same in the forties and fifties. The table also shows that at each age level the majority of those attending for vocation reasons want help with their current job rather than aid in securing a new job. However, this also varies with age, since the elderly are more interested in maintaining current jobs than in advancing to new ones.

Table II-53

Reasons for Participation, by Age (Participants Only)

	Age			
Reasons for Participation	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
To help on present job	33%	38%	23%	27%
To help get new job	28	17	12	8
Not job-connected	36	43	61	62
Some job-connected, other not job-connected	3	2	4	4
Total	100% (115)	100% (94)	100% (75)	101% (52)

As might be expected from these differences, the younger are more generally found in what we have called vocationally relevant subjects, as is shown in Table II-54. In the twenties, about three-fourths of all participation is in manual skills, white collar skills, or academic subjects; in the fifties, less than half of the participants study in these fields, and there is considerable participation in moral-religious instruction and in diverse informal subjects concerning matters such as hobbies and interpersonal relations. (Table II-54 is on page 74.)

When we examine the organizations at which the several age groups undertake adult education studies (see Table II-55, page 74), we also find considerable difference in participation patterns. Although attendance at high school courses reaches a peak in the 30-39 age group, attendance at junior colleges declines rapidly with age and attendance at universities somewhat. The combined attendance at the three formal educational institutions declines precipitously with age: at ages 20-39 about half of the participants are enrolled in formal educational institutions, as compared to about two-fifths at ages 40-49, and about one-fourth at ages 50-59. In contrast, participation in religious organizations and in voluntary associations rises rapidly with age: these sponsors account for only eight per cent of the participation among men in their twenties and 30 per cent of men in their fifties. In general, the results show that participation is highly concentrated in educational institutions among younger men and is much more widely dispersed in all kinds of organizations among older men.

Table II-54

Type of Subjects Studied, by Age (Participants Only)

	Age			
Type of Subjects Studied	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
Manual skills	24%	23%	15%	13%
White collar skills	29	24	25	21
Citizenship	2	3	11	6
Academic subjects	21	22	12	10
Performing arts	3	9	5	10
Moral-religious	4	5	11	15
Recreation	5	9	8	6
Other (hobbies, inter personal relations, etc.)	4	2	9	13
More than one type	7	2	4	6
Total	99% (115)	100% (94)	100% (75)	100% (52)

Table II-55

Organizations at Which Adult Education Activity is Engaged In, By Age (Participants Only)

	Age			
Organizations	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
High schools	14%	27%	18%	13%
Junior colleges	18	7	4	--
Universities and 4-year colleges	19	17	17	15
Proprietary schools	11	10	7	8
Other educational agencies	8	9	10	8
Military and other government organizations	9	6	7	10
Employers and businesses	8	6	11	12
Employee associations	5	5	4	4
Religious organizations	5	6	14	17
Voluntary associations	3	7	7	13
Total	100% (113)	100% (86)	99% (71)	100% (52)

Having examined the discrete participation patterns for the two variables which have the most important impact on gross participation rates--education and age--it is now necessary to analyze their joint effects. Table II-56 indicates the relations among education, age, and reasons for participation. Previously we have shown that the proportion who participate for vocational reasons is higher among the young and among the better educated. We also know that the young are better educated, so that these two relations may not be independent. If this were so, one of them should be greatly reduced when both are examined jointly. This happens in part, but not completely. Table II-56 shows that equal proportions of the college educated and of those without higher education engage in non-vocational learning within the 20-39 age group, but among older men those with less education are more likely to participate non-vocationally than those with at least some college training. The table also shows that, within the two educational groups, the older are more apt to participate for non-vocational reasons.

Table II-56

Reasons for Participation, by Age and Education (Participants Only)

Reasons for Participation	20-39 H.S. grad. or less	20-39 1 yr. college or more	40-59 H.S. grad. or less	40-59 1 yr. college or more
To help on present job	29%	41%	15%	33%
To help get new job	31	15	12	8
Not job-connected	40	39	69	53
Some job-connected, other not job connected	--	4	3	5
Total	100% (90)	99% (117)	99% (65)	99% (60)

Why should age have a differential effect on the relation between formal education and motives for participation? We might reasonably speculate as follows: (1) the better educated are more likely to be professionals; (2) in-service training continues throughout the professional career, while it is either non-existant or confined to the early stages of non-professional occupations; (3) participation in adult education for vocational reasons is therefore equally probable for the professional as for the non-professional during the early years of a career, but is more likely to continue for the professional; (4) therefore, vocational participation should be higher among the better educated than among the less educated within the older age groups, but should be about equal within the younger groups. This is, indeed, the pattern revealed by the data.

Table II-57 presents the relation between education, age and the subjects participants are studying. Both age and education have separate impacts on subjects. These impacts are particularly noticeable with regard to academic subjects: within the same educational groups a higher proportion of the young than the old are enrolled, and within the same age groups a higher proportion of the college educated than the lesser educated are enrolled. Similarly, the learning of manual skills is affected by both variables: regardless of education a higher proportion of the young than the old attend, and regardless of age a higher proportion of the less educated than the college educated attend.

Table II-57

Type of Subjects Studied, By Age and Education (Participants Only)

Type of Subjects Studied	20-39 H.S. grad. or less	20-39 1 yr. college or more	40-59 H.S. grad. or less	40-59 1 yr. college or more
Manual Skills	37%	14%	22%	7%
White collar skills	17	34	15	33
Citizenship	3	2	11	5
Academic subjects	18	25	8	15
Performing arts	3	8	6	8
Moral-religious	6	4	14	10
Recreation	10	4	8	7
Other (hobbies, interpersonal relations, etc.)	4	3	14	8
More than one type	2	7	3	7
Total	100% (90)	101% (117)	101% (65)	100% (60)

The pattern is quite different in white collar skills and moral-religious subjects. The college educated are more likely to study white collar skills than others, but within the educational groups about the same proportion of young and old study such skills. Although older men are more likely to participate in moral-religious instruction than younger men, within age groups about the same proportion of the better and lesser educated study religious subjects. To sum up, participation in academic subjects and manual skills varies with both age and education, participation in learning white collar skills varies primarily with education, and participation in moral-religious subjects primarily with age.

Table II-58 also indicates a rather complex pattern of participation, this time with regard to the methods of instruction. Among the younger participants a higher proportion of the college educated than those without a college education attend classes or courses, while just the reverse is true among the older participants. Participation in correspondence courses follows exactly the opposite pattern: among the younger participants a higher proportion of those without a college education study by correspondence, while among the older participants a relatively higher proportion of the college educated study by correspondence. Obviously, participation in courses and in correspondence study is affected obversely by education in different age groups, and by age in different educational groups.

Table II-58

Methods of Instruction, by Age and Education
(Participants Only)

Method of Instruction	20-39 H. S. grad. or less	20-39 1 yr. college or more	40-59 H. S. grad. or less	40-59 1 yr. college or more
Classes or courses	59%	63%	66%	50%
Lecture series	--	4	3	7
Discussion groups	4	8	14	13
Private lessons	8	4	5	5
Correspondence courses	26	12	8	17
Classes plus another type	3	8	5	7
Other combinations	--	1	--	2
Total	100% (90)	100% (117)	101% (65)	101% (60)

Although we have no ready explanation for this complex pattern, it is possible to simplify the structure of these relations by comparing the more systematic to the more informal methods. Thus, classes and correspondence courses canbe viewed as more formal, and lecture series, discussion groups, and private lessons more informal. Table II-59 presents the data with these classifications and reveals a much clearer structure: the more systematic instruction is taken within each educational group by the younger, and within each age group by the less educated. Probably this pattern is connected to the fact that classes and correspondence courses more often provide vocationally relevant subject matter than do other types of instruction. (Table II-59 is on page 77.)

There remain now the relations between education, age, and sponsoring organizations. These data are presented in Table II-60. It can be seen that within each of the two age groups the relation between education and type of organization is about the same, and is not substantially different from the overall relation shown previously in Table II-51. Age, then, has relatively little effect on the relation between education and type of organization.

Education, however, does have a small effect on the relation between age and organization. Among the less educated the pattern of participation is about the same for the 20-39 as for the 40-59 age group. Among the more educated, however, younger men are more likely to participate in the lower levels of formal educational institutions (high schools and junior colleges), while older men are more apt to receive instruction in business organizations and in religious institutions. (Table II-60 is on page 77.)

Table II-59

Methods of Instruction (Combined), by Age and Education (Participants Only)

Method of Instruction	20-39 H.S. grad. or less	 1 yr. college or more	40-59 H.S. grad. or less	 1 yr. college or more
More systematic (classes or courses, correspondence)	88%	83%	78%	73%
Less systematic and more informal (lecture series, discussion groups, private lessons	12	16	22	25
Combinations of methods	--	1	--	2
Total	100% (90)	100% (117)	100% (65)	100% (60)

Table II-60

Organizations At Which Adult Education Activity is Engaged In By Age and Education (Participants Only)

Organizations	20-39 H.S. grad. or less	 1 yr. college or more	40-59 H.S. grad. or less	 1 yr. college or more
High schools	28%	13%	23%	8%
Junior colleges	8	17	2	3
Universities and 4-year colleges	1	31	3	30
Proprietary schools	14	8	11	3
Other educ. agencies	8	9	8	10
Military and other government organizations	12	4	13	3
Employers and businesses	11	4	10	13
Employee associations	5	5	2	7
Religious organizations	6	5	16	13
Voluntary associations	7	3	11	8
Total	100% (85)	99% (112)	99% (61)	98% (60)

We now move on to consider the effect of race. As was shown previously, the gross participation rate for Negroes and whites is about the same (Table II-19). When education and age are controlled, the rate for Negroes is higher than for whites in two out of the six comparisons made, and equal in the other four comparisons (Table II-35). These rather surprising results prompt us to explore the relation between race and participation further by examining discrete participation rates.

Table II-61 indicates some pronounced differences between Negroes and whites in the types of subjects they study. The Negro participation rates are higher than white rates in manual skills, and lower in white collar skills and academic subjects. These differences are to be expected since Negroes tend, on the whole, to be a blue collar group. In the vocationally relevant subjects (manual skills, white collar skills, and academic subjects), the combined rates for Negroes and whites are about the same: for Negroes 7.6, for whites 7.9.

Attendance in other subjects also indicate differences, and these cannot be explained by the different socio-economic positions of Negroes and whites. Negroes tend to have higher participation rates in moral-religious instruction and lower rates in recreational activities. It seems clear that cultural differences between Negroes and whites serve to explain the different participation patterns in non-vocational subjects. The cultural difference is especially strong in the religious sphere, and the emphasis on religious adult training increases Negro participation rates to the same level as white rates even though Negroes as a group have less formal education which would ordinarily indicate lower rates.

Table II-61

Participation Rates (per 100) In Various Subjects, By Race (Based on Total Population)

Subjects	Participation Rates (per 100 population)	
	White	Negro
Manual skills	2.2	4.1
White collar skills	3.3	2.1
Citizenship	.5	.8
Academic subjects	2.4	1.4
Performing arts	.8	.7
Moral-religious	.6	2.3
Recreation	.9	.1
Other (hobbies, interpersonal relations, etc.)	.7	.8
More than one type	.7	.1
Total participation rate	12.4 (2044)	12.7 (558)

In the discussion above we have shown that Negroes and whites have approximately equal rates in what we have termed vocationally relevant subjects. Our classification can be checked against the perceptions of the respondents themselves, since they were asked whether they participated for reasons connected with their jobs or whether they had other motivations. Table II-62 contains the same results as the previous table: in both vocational and non-vocational subjects the rates for Negroes and whites are about the same. Obviously, differences in participation patterns are to be found within these two classifications rather than between them.

Table II-62

Participation Rates (per 100) According to Reasons for Participation, By Race (Based on Total Population)

Reasons for participation	Participation Rates (per 100 population)	
	White	Negro
To help on present job or to get new job	6.1	6.2
Not job-connected	5.8	6.4
Some participation is job-connected, other is not.	.4	--
Total participation rate	12.4 (2044)	12.7 (558)

Table II-63 compares Negro and white participation rates according to methods of instruction. The data indicate that Negroes have somewhat higher rates in discussion groups and in correspondence courses. This was expected since moral-religious instruction generally takes place in discussion groups (see Table II-7), but the reason for the relatively intensive use of correspondence courses can be plausibly explained only when we examine Table II-64. (Table II-63 is on page 79.)

An examination of sponsoring organizations (Table II-64) reveals a host of differences between Negro and white participation. The most substantial differences are in religious

Table II-63

Participation Rates (per 100) and Methods of Instruction, By Race
(Based on Total Population)

Method of Instruction	Participation Rate (per 100 population White	 Negro
Classes or courses only	7.4	7.8
Lecture series only	.4	.1
Discussion groups only	1.0	1.4
Private lessons only	.6	.7
Correspondence courses only	1.8	2.3
Classes plus another type of method	.9	.1
Other combinations of methods	*	--
Total participation rate	12.4 (2044)	12.7 (558)

*Less than .05

organizations, in which the Negro rate is triple the white rate, and in universities, in which the white rate is triple the Negro rate. The first difference is undoubtedly due to high Negro participation in religious instruction, and the second to the relatively higher level of formal education of the white men in the population. Other differences are not as extreme. Participation in proprietary schools and in military and other governmental institutions is about twice as high for Negroes as for whites; in voluntary and in employer and business associations white participation is more than double that of Negroes. The relatively high Negro participation in proprietary schools and governmental organizations may serve to explain their presence in correspondence courses--these two types of institutions use the correspondence method more intensively than the others (see Table II-10).

Table II-64

Participation Rates (per 100) and Sponsoring Organizations, By Race
(Based on Total Population)

Sponsoring Organizations	Participation Rate (per 100 population) White	 Negro
High schools	2.3	1.9
Junior colleges	1.0	1.4
Universities and 4-year colleges	2.3	.8
Proprietary schools	.9	1.6
Other educational agencies	1.0	1.0
Military and other government organizations	.7	1.6
Employers and businesses	1.2	.5
Employee associations	.5	.3
Religious organizations	.7	2.5
Voluntary associations	.8	.3
Other	.5	.3
Total participation rate	12.4 (2044)	12.7 (558)

So far we have compared the participation rates of the total Negro and white male population in Oakland as they are represented in our sample. The following discussion concerns differences in patterns among the participants themselves.

Table II-65 shows that the participation pattern among the younger men (aged 20-39) is similar for Negroes and whites; the main differences between the races are to be found among the older men (aged 40-59). Among younger men the only major difference is the relatively higher proportion of Negroes studying manual skills. Among older men the only similarities are in attendance in the performing arts and in the miscellaneous courses. There is a striking difference in moral-religious instruction, which is taken by a third of the Negro participants and only six per cent of the whites. Indeed, moral-religious instruction is the most frequently attended subject among older Negro men, with manual skills instruction a close second. In contrast, older white men most frequently study white collar skills, with academic subjects second.

Table II-65

Type of Subjects Studied, By Race and Age
(Participants Only)

Type of Subjects Studied	20-39		40-59	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Manual skills	23%	34%	9%	31%
White collar skills	25	22	29	7
Citizenship	2	2	7	14
Academic subjects	23	20	15	--
Performing arts	6	5	7	7
Moral-religious	4	7	6	34
Recreation	8	2	8	--
Other (hobbies, interpersonal relations, etc.)	3	5	11	7
More than one type	6	2	6	--
Total	100% (158)	99% (41)	98% (96)	100% (29)

These data invite some speculation about the future Negro-white comparative pattern of participation. Since the major population movement of Negroes to the West Coast is fairly recent, many of the older Negro men probably came from rural districts and from the South. It is plausible, therefore, that this kind of distinctly different background would affect the participation patterns of these older men. In contrast, the younger generation of Negroes would have quite different backgrounds, substantially more education, and probably a more cosmopolitan outlook. If the younger Negro men in the sample can be taken to represent the future generation of Negroes, it is probable that the participation patterns of Negroes and whites will become increasingly similar.

Table II-66

Reasons for Participation, By Race and Age
(Participants Only)

Reasons for Participation	20-39		40-59	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
To help on present job or to get new job	54%	68%	40%	21%
Not job-connected	42	32	55	79
Some participation is job-connected, other is not	3	--	5	--
Total	99% (158)	100% (41)	100% (96)	100% (29)

The difference between the generations is also evident in Table II-66, which presents the comparative data with regard to reasons for participation. Among younger men, a higher proportion of Negroes than whites participate for vocational reasons, while among the older men this relation is reversed. Most interesting, however, is the much larger difference between generations among Negroes than among whites. While there is a fourteen percentage point drop in vocational participation among whites, there is a forty-seven percent drop among Negroes.

Clearly, the older Negro generation has unique characteristics which may be disappearing in the Negro community, at least in California.

These characteristics are not as readily revealed by the methods of instruction used in the adult education activities in which participants engage. As Table II-67 shows, white and Negro participation patterns are quite similar, with the single exception of correspondence courses in which a relatively higher proportion of Negroes than whites among the older men participate.

Table II-67

Methods of Instruction, By Race and Age
(Participants Only)

Methods of Instruction	20-39 White	20-39 Negro	40-59 White	40-59 Negro
Classes or courses only	61%	61%	57%	62%
Lecture series only	2	--	5	3
Discussion groups only	6	10	14	14
Private lessons only	5	7	5	3
Correspondence courses only	18	20	10	17
Classes plus another type	7	2	7	--
Other combinations	1	--	1	--
Total	100% (158)	100% (41)	99% (96)	99% (29)

However, when we examine participation according to types of sponsoring organizations (see Table II-68), the dissimilarity between older and younger Negro man is again noticeable. In the younger generation the Negro pattern is similar to the white pattern except for the lower proportion of Negroes participating in universities and four-year colleges. The pattern of the younger Negroes resembles that of the younger whites much more than it does the pattern of the older Negroes, and the latter is also substantially different from that of the older whites. Older Negroes are much more likely than their white contemporaries to participate in religious institutions, in proprietary schools, and in military and other governmental organizations, and they are much less apt to attend high schools, universities, or employer and business organizations. These differences are consonant with the previous findings regarding differences in subjects and in reasons for participation.

Table II-68

Organizations At Which Adult Education Is Engaged In,
By Race and Age (Participants Only)

Organizations	20-39 White	20-39 Negro	40-59 White	40-59 Negro
High schools	19%	22%	19%	7%
Junior colleges	13	18	2	4
Universities and 4-year colleges	19	8	20	4
Proprietary schools	9	12	5	14
Other educational agencies	9	8	9	11
Military and other gov't organizations	7	12	5	14
Employers and businesses	7	8	15	--
Employee associations	5	5	5	--
Religious organizations	5	8	9	39
Voluntary associations	6	--	10	7
Total	99% (149)	101% (40)	99% (93)	100% (28)

In summary, then, there are substantial differences between whites and Negroes in adult education participation. We asked why the gross participation rates of Negroes and whites were the same even though the former have attained a lower education level, and found that a substantial proportion of Negro participation is in moral-religious subjects conducted by religious institutions. We attribute this to cultural differences between whites and Negroes, differences which serve to increase the Negro participation rate to the same level as the white rate and to counteract the socio-economic differences between the two groups.

On further examination, it was revealed that much of the difference between Negro and white participation patterns was the result of the unique characteristics of the older Negro generation. There were differences between young whites and young Negroes, but these were not substantial. If present trends continue, we anticipate a growing similarity of Negro and white participation patterns.

Summary

In this part of the Report we have examined discrete participation rates and their variations within different social groups. As a point of departure we emphasized the motivations of the participants, that is, whether or not they participated for vocational reasons, because such motivations proved useful as a simple way to classify different subjects offered in adult education.

Early in the Report we distinguished between "vocationally relevant" and other subjects according to our impressions of subject content. Two of the subjects classified as vocationally relevant--manual skills and white collar skills--were actually taken predominantly for vocational reasons. Academic subjects which we also considered vocationally relevant, were studied about twice as often for non-vocational than vocational reasons. This does not necessarily imply that our original classification was in error, since the motivation for participating in adult education may not coincide with the unforeseen effects of participation nor with the motivation of the instructors. All other subjects were predominantly chosen for non-vocational reasons.

There were differences found in methods of instruction and sponsoring organizations. Those with vocational motivations were more likely to enroll in activities conducted by the more systematic methods (classes or correspondence), while the others were more apt to participate in lecture series, discussion groups, or private lessons. Similarly, more of the vocationally motivated were to be found in universities and in organizations connected with work (employer and employee associations) than in private instruction or religious or voluntary organizations. On the basis of these findings we used motivations as an indicator of the diverse types of subjects, methods, and sponsoring organizations to be found in adult education.

This method proved useful in treating the question of why gross participation decreases as people get older. It is clear from an examination of discrete participation rates that only vocationally motivated engagement decreases with age. Participation for other reasons, on the contrary, remains relatively constant when the effect of formal education is controlled. This finding points up the importance of distinguishing between vocational and non-vocational participation in studies dealing with adult education.

In further investigating the differences in motivations we discovered the surprising fact that the better educated are more likely to participate for vocational reasons than the less educated. Certainly this does not coincide with the common image of the educated primarily pursuing the liberal subjects. We believe that the reason for the vocational interests of the educated is that they are more likely to be professional people and so require continuous in-service training. Much of this training takes place in the context of adult education.

Just as there are differences between educational groups in gross participation rates, so are there differences in types of subjects studied and types of sponsoring organizations. Thus, the better educated are found in higher proportions in the "white collar" subjects, while the less educated are more likely to study "blue collar" subjects. These differences, however, exist only among those who attend for vocational reasons. Among the other participants, the only major difference between the better and less educated is that the former are about twice as likely to take academic subjects. With regard to organizations, the major differences concern participation at formal educational institutions. Those with a high school education or less are most likely to participate at high schools, those with one to three years of college are most apt to participate in junior colleges, and college graduates will most probably attend universities and four-year colleges. Clearly, formal educational institutions recruit adult education students from those whose educational level is about the same level of their regular daytime students. In addition to this very distinct pattern, the data also showed relatively high participation in religious organizations among those without a high school diploma.

Variations in patterns among the participants in different age groups were also investigated. As age increases the proportion who attend for vocational reasons decreases, although this decrease is much more substantial among the less than among the better educated. Both age and education affect participation in subjects, in the modes of instruction chosen, and in the types of organizations attended. These latter relations are complex, and the reader is referred to the main body of the text for their description.

Finally, comparisons of Negro and white participation rates were presented. Earlier it was reported that these rates are about equal. The reasons for this were investigated since we would expect unequal rates on the basis of the lower socio-economic position of Negroes. It was found that a substantial proportion of Negro participation is in moral-religious subjects provided by religious institutions. We thus propose that part of the reason for the relatively high rate of Negroes is due to cultural differences between Negroes and whites, particularly with regard to the importance of religion. It was also found, when both race and age were considered, that the participation pattern of younger Negroes was similar to that of younger whites. The unique pattern for Negroes as a group is the result of the very different participation pattern of the older generation of Negroes, whose emphasis on moral-religious instruction and relative de-emphasis of vocational participation is quite marked.

PART III: FACTORS AFFECTING ADULT EDUCATION PARTICIPATION IN A MATCHED SAMPLE

Chapter 7: A Note On the Matched Sample

The data presented in Part II of this monograph were based on a sample which represented the middle rental strata in Oakland, and the results could thus be generalized to Oaklanders living in the area and to cities similar in composition to Oakland. Many of the findings were, indeed, substantially similar to those discovered in the national population (1).

Because of the costs involved in interviewing a large sample in the city of Oakland, the Community Survey included only a few questions, and answers to them were accepted from other household members besides the man being described. In order to obtain more extensive details about the differences between participants and non-participants, 599 of the men located in the Community Survey were later interviewed at much greater length. In addition, the Matched Sample Survey was designed to remove the effects of age and occupation on participation rates so that these two variables would not have to be "held constant" throughout the analysis. In essence, the matched sample was designed to make it possible to explore those factors which affect participation in addition to age and occupation.

The procedure used for matching is shown in detail in Appendix 1, but a brief note here will facilitate understanding of the ensuing chapters. Participants and non-participants were classified according to their age and occupation, separating each into 16 age-occupation groups. Within each of these groups, non-participants were chosen randomly until they equalled the number of participants. In this manner, each age-occupation combination would be composed of 50 per cent participants and 50 per cent non-participants, so that the joint distribution of age and occupation would be the same for the two. This matching was apparently quite successful, as shown in Table 9 of Appendix 1.

After the sampling and interviewing were completed, a rather large number of discrepancies were discovered. These did not involve the matching itself, but rather changes in reported information. Compared to the Community Survey, the Matched Sample Survey revealed many differences in reported age, occupation, and participation. The net effect of these changes was to re-introduce the original association between occupation, age, and participation, an association which the matching had been designed to eliminate (see Table III-1). Further, the planned 50 per cent participation rate had dropped to 34 per cent.

Table III-1

Adult Education Participation, By Age and Occupation
(Matched Sample)

Occupation	Age 20-29	 30-39	 40-49	 50-59	Total
Upper white collar	61% (28)	42% (53)	48% (35)	46% (26)	48% (143)
Lower white collar	33% (46)	32% (43)	36% (47)	15% (34)	30% (172)
Upper manual	43% (30)	40% (35)	28% (32)	12% (24)	32% (121)
Lower manual	38% (58)	33% (46)	17% (30)	15% (20)	29% (157)
Total	40% (167)	36% (178)	33% (144)	22% (104)	34% (599)

Analysis of the changes revealed a number of patterns which help to explain this unexpected shift. First, it was found that the re-introduction of the original association was only slightly due to changes in reported ages of occupations, but was primarily caused by changes in reported participation. These may be attributed to three related factors: (1) differences in question wording, (2) unreliability of reporting in either the Community Survey or the Matched Sample Survey, and (3) actual changes in participation.

Differences in the wording of the participation questions on the two surveys tended to make the matched sample definition more restrictive. If a man was taking a course at the time of the Community Survey but dropped out before completing it, he may have asserted that he was participating during the first interview but deny that he had "taken" any courses when he was interviewed again for the Matched Sample Survey. Similarly, if a man was participating in an activity such as choral singing, which is marginal between the "educational" and the "non-educational," he may have redefined the nature of his activity in the period between the two surveys and in response to the different question wording. While we cannot prove that these factors produced the changes between the two surveys, much of the data from the surveys themselves are consistent with this interpretation. These data are presented in Appendix 1, where we also show that the modes of interviewing in the Community Survey cannot account for the differences.

These results made it unexpectedly difficult to classify respondents as "participants" or "non-participants." We first engaged in a study of the consequences of using different indicators of current participation. A number of indicators were available: we could count as participants (1) only those who reported participating in the Community Survey, (2) only those who reported participating in the Matched Sample Survey, (3) only those who reported participating in *both* surveys, and (4) those who reported participating in *either* survey. Any of these indicators could be defended on *a priori* bases. Before coming to a decision, we examined a large number of tables dealing with the bivariate associations between participation and a host of variables from the Matched Sample Survey. Each table was prepared four times, using the four indicators noted above, and we compared each set of four tables in order to see what substantive differences it would make to use one or the other of the indicators. This investigation made it apparent that there were no substantial differences. Except for a small proportion of the tables examined, the tables for each of the four indicators showed the same associations.

With these results to support us, we decided to use the most inclusive definition of adult education available. (This is consistent with the general orientation of the study; see the discussion about the meaning of adult education in Chapter 4.) In the analysis to follow, a "current participant" in adult education is defined as a respondent who reported participation *either* in the Community Survey *or* in the Matched Sample Survey *or in both*; we also counted as participants those who reported, in the Matched Sample Survey, attendance at systematic religious instruction, even if on the prior question they did not report "participation" as such. Conversely, respondents are classified as current non-participants only if they reported non-participation in both the Community and Matched Sample Surveys. All other data used in the analysis remain as they were reported in the Matched Sample Survey. The resulting composition of the groups of participants and non-participants is shown in Table III-2.

Table III-2

Indicators Used to Classify Respondents as Participants

Participation Status in		Final Classification	
Community Survey	Matched Sample Survey	Participants	Non-participants
Participant	Participant	51%	--
Participant	Non-participant	31	--
Non-participant	Participant	10	--
Non-participant	Non-participant	7*	99%
Other**		.3	1
Total		99.3% (329)	100% (267)

*The seven per cent represents 34 men who reported participating through systematic religious instruction only.

**Information was not available from the Community Survey for seven men; one was classified as a participant and three as non-participants on the Matched Sample Survey, while for the other three no information was available from either survey.

Using the above inclusive definition of current participation, we hoped to come closer to the objectives of the original matching. In this we were partially successful, as can be seen by comparing Tables III-1 and III-3. Table III-3 shows the association between age, occupation, and participation as defined above, and the relations between these three is smaller than the same relation in Table III-1, where participation was defined according to the responses obtained only in the Matched Sample Survey. Thus, in Table III-1 the difference between participation rates of the youngest and the oldest age groups is 18 percentage points; in Table III-3 this is reduced to 11. Similarly, in Table III-1 the difference between the highest and lowest occupation levels is 19 percentage points; in Table III-3 this is reduced to 13.

Nevertheless, as even the most cursory glance at Table III-3 reveals, the matching is far from satisfactory. The participants are highly overrepresented among the upper white collar respondents in three out of four age categories, and also among the youngest upper manual respondents; conversely, participants are highly underrepresented among the oldest age group in the manual occupations. Since we will seldom be able to hold age constant in the following analysis, and since we will often be unable to hold occupation constant, the possibility of correlated bias will make it necessary to present our conclusions tentatively.

Table III-3

Adult Education Participation, By Age and Occupation
(Community and Matched Sample Combined)

Occupation	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total
Upper white collar	71% (28)	58% (53)	71% (35)	63% (27)	65% (143)
Lower white collar	52% (46)	48% (42)	54% (46)	47% (36)	50% (170)
Upper manual	67% (30)	51% (35)	56% (32)	39% (23)	54% (120)
Lower manual	57% (58)	52% (46)	53% (30)	39% (23)	52% (157)
Total	59% (167)	53% (177)	59% (143)	48% (109)	55% (596)

The inclusive definition of current participation has the effect of making non-participation the more precise category. It must be remembered, however, that to classify a man as a non-participant on the basis of his experiences within the past year does not imply that he has never participated. In fact, our data show that a majority of those classified as current non-participants have taken part in some type of adult education activity in their lifetimes. In a few instances the following analysis will refer to this, and we constructed an indicator of "cumulative participation" for this purpose. In the Matched Sample Survey, respondents were asked, "Thinking back over the time since you left school, have you ever taken any courses like those on this list?" The list presented included night school courses, correspondence courses, private lessons, discussion groups, TV courses, and workshops or conferences. For the men who had taken courses in the past, we obtained the number of different courses they had taken in the five years preceding the interview. Combining responses to the different questions, a ten-category index was constructed. The distributions of current participants and non-participants on this index is presented in Table III-4, which is on page 87.

Even among the current non-participants, 27 per cent had taken one or more courses in the past five years, although none of them had taken courses in the year preceding the interview. This fact reinforces the point made earlier that participation in adult education is a form of behavior which is inherently difficult to define with precision. "Participation" is not an either-or form of behavior, but rather a more-or-less one; we shall represent participation as a dichotomy to facilitate our presentation and because we cannot measure it as a single ordinal variable (2). Since many current non-participants have participated in the past, the following analysis, when it uses current participation as the behavior to be explained, is most valid when the explanation is done in terms of other current aspects of a man's situation--his pattern of leisure activities, his job, and his family situation. When explanation is attempted in terms of a man's past, or in terms of presumably stable values and psychological configurations, current participation becomes a much less satisfactory indicator.

Table III-4

Cumulative Participation By Current Participation Status

Cumulative Participation	Current Participation Status	
	Participants	Non-participants
Never participated in adult education	--	48%
Participated only more than five years before interview	--	25
Current religious instruction only	2%	--
Participation recorded in Community Survey only (distribution over past five years unknown)	32	--
Number of courses taken in past five years:		
1	18	14
2	15	6
3	9	4
4	8	1
5	8	1
6 or more	7	1
TOTAL	100% (329)	100% (267)

Chapter 8: Participation and Leisure Styles

In our analysis of the Community Survey we posited various possible interpretations regarding the connection between formal education and adult education participation. One of these was that the better educated participate in more activities in general, and that participation in adult education is a reflection of this fact.

In the Matched Sample Survey we are able to check this interpretation, because we gathered information on (1) memberships in voluntary and other organizations, and (2) participation in a variety of leisure activities. Our procedure will be to examine whether any particular attribute is associated with education and then to see whether it is associated with participation, both by itself and in different educational groups.

A word of caution is in order here. Because of the nature of the matched sample, both the lower and the upper educational groups tend to be represented by their more active members. Since the higher educational groups are more active to begin with, and the lower educational groups are less active, the fact that all groups are represented by their more active members reduces the differences between the educational groups. Thus, differences which would ordinarily be high may appear in the following tables as quite small.

Leisure Styles and Formal Education

Table III-5 presents the associations between formal education and membership in a variety of organizations. The over-all totals indicate that there is little difference between the educational groups, and that over three-fourths of each group are members in at least one organization. However, this lack of association is partly the result of the high rate of membership in trade unions among the less educated. Thus, if we examine membership rates in associations not connected with work, it becomes evident that the rates are considerably higher among the better educated than among the less educated. This is to be expected from the general literature on the subject.

The table also shows that, compared to the differences between the educational groups with regard to trade union membership and membership in professional associations, none of the other types of memberships are as biased toward any particular educational group. Although there are differences in these other membership rates, they tend to be relatively small; wherever differences exist in membership rates in voluntary associations, the better educated tend to have higher rates than do the less educated. (Table III-5 is on page 89.)

Table III-6 indicates that the better educated also have relatively more memberships than the less educated. While less than one-tenth of those with the least education claim memberships in four or more organizations, almost a fourth of the college graduates are members of that many organizations. And, lest it be thought that many of these are merely non-active memberships which appear "on the books" but do not elicit any activity, the data on number of meetings attended each month show the same pattern. A higher proportion of college graduates attend a greater number of organizational meetings than do men with less amounts of education (see Table III-7; Tables III-6 and 7 are on page 90.)

Finally, since attendance at meetings may be active or passive and thus does not necessarily represent organizational commitments, we may also examine the relationship between education and actually being an officer of one or more of these groups. Thus, the question was asked, "Have you ever been an officer of any of these groups?" Table III-8 shows that the better educated were more likely to have been officers than the less educated. (Table III-8 is on page 90.)

In general, then, we must conclude that the better educated, as a group, are more active than the less educated, at least in organized activities. The question arises, are the better educated also more active in activities which are not part of the programs of organized groups in which membership is required?

The considerable research attention given to participation in organizations has not been matched by a similar effort with regard to participation in informal leisure activities outside

Table III-5

Membership in Various Organizations, by Formal Education

Membership In:	Less than H. S. grad. (148)	High School graduate (209)	1-3 years College (119)	College grad. or more (121)
Trade Unions	66%	51%	36%	8%
Professional associations	0%	3%	8%	41%
Business associations *	1%	5%	8%	11%
Religious associations*	14%	14%	21%	19%
PTA and Boy Scouts	8%	15%	12%	16%
Veterans, Patriotic Groups*	3%	4%	3%	2%
Fraternal, Service Groups*	13%	16%	13%	29%
Recreational, Hobby Groups*	9%	17%	18%	19%
Political & Social Action*	2%	2%	8%	7%
Other Types of Organizations*	7%	14%	13%	17%
Subtotal: membership in work associations	68%	58%	52%	54%
Subtotal: membership in voluntary associations	41%	52%	58%	67%
Total: Membership in any associations	78%	80%	80%	83%

*The following are some examples of associations under each of the headings noted;

Business associations: Chamber of Commerce, Merchants Association, Automotive Industries, Inc., Emeryville Industries--Association of Auto Wreckers.

Religious associations: Church youth groups, Ushers, Church Layman's League (church memberships are not included here, only church-centered groups.)

Veterans, Patriotic Groups: American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Veto Committee.

Fraternal, Service Groups: Lions Club, Rotary, Elks, Moose, Sons of the Golden West, Masons, Knights of Columbus, Kiwanis.

Recreational, Hobby Groups: Country clubs, dance clubs, YMCA, tennis clubs, bridge clubs, swimming associations.

Political and Social Action: NAACP, Oakland Taxpayer's Association, California Democratic Council, COPE.

Other types of organizations: Co-Op, Police Auxiliary, stock clubs, Neighborhood improvement groups, State Safety Council, Cerebral Palsy, Alumni Association.

Table III-6

Number of Organizational Memberships, by Formal Education

Number of memberships	Less than H. S. grad.	High School graduate	1-3 years College	College grad. or more
Four or more	8%	9%	16%	22%
Three	8	11	13	18
Two	22	21	18	17
One	39	40	34	26
None	22	18	20	17
Total	99% (148)	99% (208)	101% (119)	100% (121)

Table III-7

Average Number of Meetings Attended per Month, by Formal Education (includes only those who have at least one membership)

	Education			
Number of Meetings	Less than H. S. grad.	High school graduate	1-3 years college	College grad. or more
Six or more	11%	11%	18%	22%
Three to five	14	15	17	25
One to two	51	46	46	33
None	23	28	20	20
Total	99% (115)	100% (169)	101% (95)	100% (101)

Table III-8

Activity as Organizational Officer, by Formal Education (includes only those who have at least one membership)

	Education			
	Less than H. S. grad.	High School graduate	1-3 years college	College grad. or more
Has been active as an officer	34% (116)	34% (169)	51% (94)	51% (101)

of organizational settings. We have information on a host of such activities, from concert-going and reading to bowling and gardening. The form of the information allowed two questions to be asked in the analysis. First, we inquired whether there were any differences between educational groups with regard to the scope of leisure participation. Thus, one can distinguish between men who engage in a large variety of activities and men whose perspectives are more limited and who tend to "specialize" in only a few activities. Second, we inquired whether there were any differences with regard to the types of leisure activities engaged in. Thus, regardless of whether the scope of leisure participation is large or small, different men may still be drawn to different types of activities.

The scope of leisure participation was itself treated in two ways: (1) a distinction was made between those who never engaged in an activity as compared to those who participated in it once a year or more. This is a minimal definition of participation. (2) A distinction was also made between weekly participation, i. e., frequent participation, and participation which takes place less than once a week on the average. This is a maximal definition. Each type of leisure activity was examined twice, and quite different patterns of relations were discovered, depending on whether the minimal or maximal definition of participation was used.

The Scope of Minimal Participation

Tables III-9 and III-10 treat the data from the perspective of minimal participation. The findings are striking--a higher proportion of the most educated participated, at least once a year, in 15 out of the 18 activities about which we obtained information. In summary form (as shown in Table III-10), about a third of the college graduates reported at least minimal participation in 16 or more activities, as compared to only about a seventh among those with less than 12 years of schooling. (Tables III-9 and III-10 are on page 91.)

These are surprising findings, because many of the activities included in the list are usually thought to be activities in which the lower socio-economic strata are most active. In order to check the validity of these results, we prepared comparable tables from data on leisure activities gathered in a 1963 national Gallup Poll. The results are shown in Tables III-11 and III-12, which

Table III-9

Proportion Participating At Least Once A Year In Specified Leisure Activities, by Formal Education

Leisure Activities	Education: Less than H. S. grad.	H. S. grad.	1-3 yrs. college	Coll. grad. or more	% Diff. Between Least & Most ed.
Attend concerts, plays	32%	56%	75%	87%	.55
Visit people in same line of work, who work in different place of business	51%	58%	62%	79%	.28
Visit people who work in same place of business	60%	66%	65%	85%	.25
Crafts, art work, play music	33%	43%	55%	57%	.24
Engage in outdoor sports	53%	65%	71%	77%	.24
Attendance at movies	69%	88%	89%	89%	.20
Spend an evening reading a book/ paperback	80%	85%	87%	98%	.18
Go to parties	80%	93%	94%	97%	.17
Visit friends other than those specified above or below	80%	84%	91%	91%	.11
Visit neighbors	72%	75%	73%	82%	.10
Watch outdoor sports (baseball, football)	61%	70%	74%	71%	.10
Go bowling	27%	41%	45%	36%	.09
Drink beer, wine, or liquor	78%	90%	90%	87%	.09
Go to bar or tavern	56%	65%	74%	64%	.08
Go hunting, fishing, camping	57%	62%	61%	62%	.05
Visit relatives	93%	93%	96%	91%	-.02
Repair around the house	95%	92%	94%	92%	-.03
Work in garden	72%	66%	68%	69%	-.03
N	(148)	(209)	(119)	(121)	

Table III-10

Number of Different Types of Activities Participated In At Least Once a Year, by Formal Education

Number of Leisure Activities*	Education: Less than H. S. grad.	High school graduate	1-3 years college	College grad. or more
16 or more	14%	16%	27%	31%
14-15	12	24	31	31
12-13	24	31	19	21
10-11	24	20	13	13
9 or less	26	9	10	4
Total	100% (148)	100% (210)	100% (119)	100% (121)

*The activities summarized in this table are those listed in Table III-9.

exhibit essentially the same pattern, but even more pronounced. Thus, the summary table (Table III-12, page 92) shows that over half of the high school graduates participate at least minimally in the largest number of leisure activities, as compared to only four per cent of those with less than a ninth grade education. This relation persists when the effect of age is controlled.

The results thus far indicate, therefore, that the more educated not only participate in

Table III-11

Proportion Participating At Least Minimally In Specified Leisure Activities, by Formal Education (1963 Gallup Poll)

	Education				
Leisure Activities	0-8 Grade	9-11 Grade	H. S. Grad.	More than H. S.	% Diff. Between Least & Most Educ.
Read a book all the way through	22%	42%	57%	78%	.56
Go to a motion picture	22%	49%	67%	73%	.51
Go to a stage or theater production	4%	7%	21%	45%	.41
Go to an art museum or gallery	5%	11%	17%	41%	.36
Go to a football game	8%	22%	30%	41%	.33
Go to a concert or symphony	3%	6%	13%	33%	.30
Read the comic strips*	31%	50%	54%	58%	.27
Go to a basketball game	5%	13%	21%	31%	.26
Go bowling	7%	24%	37%	32%	.25
Play a musical instrument*	4%	8%	15%	23%	.19
Paint, in oils or watercolors*	4%	8%	15%	23%	.19
Play bingo	12%	14%	21%	18%	.06
Participate in a stage or theater production	2%	2%	3%	7%	.05
Take modern dance or ballet lessons*	2%	2%	1%	4%	.02
Watch "Westerns" on television*	64%	73%	73%	65%	.01
N	(392)	(307)	(446)	(364)	

*These activities were asked about in the form, "Do you happen to do any of these now?" All other activities were asked about, "During the past twelve months. . . did you, yourself, happen to go to any of these?"

Table III-12

Number of Different Types of Activities Participated In At Least Minimally, by Formal Education (1963 Gallup Poll)

	Education			
Number of Leisure Activities*	0-8 Grade	9-11 Grade	H. S. Grad.	More than H. S.
6 or more **	4%	15%	28%	52%
4-5	10	26	37	26
2-3	40	40	25	16
0-1	46	19	10	6
Total	100% (395)	100% (309)	100% (448)	100% (366)

*The activities summarized in this table are those listed in Table III-11.
**Of the 15 activities listed in Table III-11, the maximum number reported by any individual was 14.

organizations in higher proportions than the less educated, but also tend to have at least minimal contact with a larger variety of leisure activities in non-organizational settings. These two areas of leisure life--organizational and non-organizational--are themselves related; those who belong to more organizations and attend more meetings also tend to participate, at least minimally, in a larger variety of leisure activities. In general, one might say that the educated and organizationally active tend to have broader perspective and more varied experiences in their leisure life.

The Scope of Maximal Participation

As stated previously, the scope of leisure participation may also be viewed from the perspective of maximal participation. Tables III-13 and III-14 compare the educational groups on the extent of their frequent or maximal participation, defining participation now as once a week or more. The overall pattern is quite different from that seen in the previous sets of tables. Whereas the educated tended to be overrepresented in almost all activities when participation was defined minimally, this is no longer true when participation is defined maximally. Under the latter definition, the educated tend to be overrepresented in only about half of the activities, while the less educated are overrepresented in the other half.

Table III-13

Proportion Participating Frequently (At Least Once a Week) In Specified Leisure Activities, by Formal Education

Leisure Activities	Education				% Difference between least & most educ.
	Less than H. S. grad.	H. S. Grad.	1-3 yrs. college	Coll. grad. or more	
Attend concerts, plays*	4%	8%	13%	21%	.17
Engage in outdoor sports	14%	27%	23%	30%	.16
Spend an evening reading a book/ paperback	49%	49%	43%	64%	.15
Crafts, art work, play music	20%	20%	32%	28%	.08
Drink beer, wine, or liquor	55%	62%	58%	63%	.08
Go to parties	1%	5%	8%	3%	.02
Visit people in same line of work, who work in different place of business	7%	11%	6%	8%	.01
Visit people who work in same place of business	8%	12%	6%	7%	-.01
Go bowling	4%	10%	8%	3%	-.01
Visit neighbors	39%	40%	33%	35%	-.04
Visit friends other than those specified above or below	23%	24%	23%	18%	-.05
Go to bar or tavern	15%	17%	15%	10%	-.05
Watch outdoor sports (baseball, football)	8%	9%	10%	2%	-.06
Attendance at movies	9%	9%	8%	2%	-.07
Go hunting, fishing, camping	10%	7%	6%	2%	-.08
Repair/ improve things around the house	52%	51%	48%	44%	-.08
Visit relatives	41%	43%	43%	26%	-.15
Work in garden	60%	46%	45%	40%	-.20
N	(148)	(209)	(119)	(121)	

*Attending concerts or plays is relatively infrequent, so that the percentages refer to participation "once a month or more"; all other percentages refer to participation "once a week or more."

Thus, when the data are summarized by an index, as in Table III-14, the scope of maximal participation is shown not to be related to education. Each educational group has about equal proportions frequently participating in seven or more of the leisure activities. (Table III-14 is on page 94.)

The scope of maximal participation is also, by the way, not associated with adult education, nor is it related to the number of organizational meetings attended monthly, having been an officer of an organization, age, book reading, book buying, television watching, or most other variables. In contrast, the index of minimal participation is associated with all these variables.

Table III-14

Number of Different Types of Activities Participated In At Least Once a Week, by Formal Education

Number of Leisure Activities*	Education Less than H. S. grad.	H. S. Grad.	1-3 yrs. college	College grad. or more
7-13	10%	13%	10%	10%
5-6	29	30	34	22
3-4	42	38	33	44
2 or less	19	19	23	24
Total	100% (148)	100% (210)	100% (119)	100% (121)

*The activities summarized in this table are those listed in Table III-13.

This points to the important distinction between minimal and maximal participation. The educational groups differ with regard to the number and variety of leisure activities engaged in minimally, the more educated tending to participate in a larger number; but they are the same with regard to the number of activities in which they engage frequently. In the latter case, what is important is not the extent of leisure participation, but rather the content or the type of activities engaged in.

Types of Leisure Activities

Certain themes emerge when we examine the content of those activities which most strongly distinguish between the educational groups. Among the better educated, there is a tendency to engage in cultural activities, purely social activities, and to be active in sports. Among the less educated, the activities tend to center much more around the home and the extended family (visiting relatives, repairing/improving things around the house, working in the garden) and in relatively passive activities which involve being a spectator (attending movies, watching outdoor sports events).

These distinctions are supported by the data on TV viewing and favorite leisure activity, as reported in Part II of this monograph. The less educated tend to spend more hours watching television, again a relatively passive activity, and they tend to favor working in the house or garden and attending functions of mass entertainment. In contrast, the more educated tend to favor active participation in outdoor sports, serious reading, and art or musical activities.

In summary, then, the data on leisure pursuits outside organizational settings show three patterns. First, the more educated tend to engage at least minimally in a much larger variety of leisure activities than the less educated, even though many of these activities, such as bowling or movie-going, are ordinarily regarded the province of the lower socio-economic strata. Second, the educational groups are about equal in the number of activities they pursue frequently, but tend to pursue different types of activities. Third, there is a tendency for the less educated to engage more in activities around the home, the neighborhood, and the extended family, while the educated tend to be more active in social and cultural activities connected to the larger society. In this context, the less educated tend to be connected through the mass media and mass entertainment (television, movies, and spectator sports), while the educated tend to be connected more through reading, cultural pursuits, active sports, and memberships in voluntary associations.

Factor Analysis of Leisure Activities

Although certain activities cluster together with reference to the participation patterns of the different educational groups, this is no sure sign that they cluster together with reference to each other. To get some picture of the internal structure of leisure activities we prepared a number of factor analyses, two of which are included here. The first factor analysis includes only those leisure activities which take place in non-organizational settings, the second includes both organizational and non-organizational activities. Both factor analyses also include the item on participation in adult education.

From the discussion so far, a number of factors in Factor Analysis I are already familiar. The cultural pursuits, which have been shown to be connected with having more education, appear in Factors 1 and 6. Factor 1 is heavily loaded with educational activities, such as book reading and book buying, while Factor 6 seems to refer to the more social aspects of cultural participation. Apparently, attending concerts and plays, which is one item that appears in both factors, is based partly on an interest in their content and partly on their status value as a purely social activity.

Factor 2, dealing with home-oriented and neighborhood-oriented pursuits, is also familiar, having been shown to be connected with the less educated. Similarly, Factor 5, referring to activities associated with visiting relatives and neighbors, have a number of items which also tend to be connected with the less educated. This is especially true for watching television and being a spectator at sports events, as well as visits to relatives.

Factors 3 and 4 are composed of items which, in general, did not distinguish between the various educational groups, Factor 3 referring to work-connected friendship patterns and Factor 4 to drinking and party-going. These are, then, additional distinctions between different leisure styles, and the drinking pattern will turn out to be important in connection with participation in adult education. (Factor Analysis I is on page 96.)

Before going on, we might call attention to the way in which sports activities are interlocked with various visiting patterns and friendship patterns. Thus, participation in sports, either as spectator or as player, appears in connection with both work-connected friendships and friendships with neighbors or relatives, even though these types of friendships are in different factors. This finding suggests that bare statistics on the millions who attend football and baseball games, or who have bought boats or fishing gear or bowling balls, tend to misrepresent the significance of participation in sports. The factor analysis strongly suggests that such participation takes place within a network of friendship relations, and is probably functional in preserving and supporting such relations.

Moving on now to the second factor analysis, the patterns described so far are not significantly altered when data on organizational participation are added. Indeed, Factors 4 through 7 in the second factor analysis are essentially the same as their equivalents in the first factor analysis, with perhaps one important exception--participation in adult education now appears in the factor representing the social-drinking pattern (Factor 4), although the sign of its loading is positive while the loadings of the drinking items are negative.

The first three factors represent, to some extent, a new configuration. The distinction between Factors 1 and 3 is somewhat surprising, since the two factors are both composed of organizational items. Factor 1 includes all the memberships in all the types of organizations about which we inquired, but does not include attendance at meetings. In contrast, Factor 3 does include such attendance, which has a relatively high loading, and also includes participation in adult education. The fact that these data appear in different factors suggests that a distinction has to be made between mere membership in organizations and active participation in these organizations.

Factor 2, which referred in the previous factor analysis only to cultural activities, has been considerably enlarged. It is the only factor into which organizational memberships have penetrated, and it is significant that the two organizational groups now represented in this factor are the ones which are most strongly associated with formal education. These two groups are professional associations, whose membership tends to consist of the most educated, and labor unions, whose membership is largely composed of the least educated. In general, then, the meaning of this factor has not been drastically changed, since the activities included tend to be those pursued by the more educated.

Looking at the factor analysis as a whole, it is striking the extent to which organizational and non-organizational pursuits fail to interpenetrate. Each appears to represent a distinctive and separate approach to leisure activity, although participation in adult education is one item which appears in both types of factors.

Table III-15

Varimax Factor Analysis I

FACTOR 1: Cultural Pursuits	
Has bought books or paperbacks in the last four months	.57
Spend an evening reading a book or paperback	.54
Has read library books in the last four months	.53
Level of formal education	.48
Participant in adult education	.38
Attend concerts, plays	.37
Hours spent during average week watching television	-.38
FACTOR 2: Home-oriented, neighborhood-oriented pursuits	
Repair and improve things around the house	.52
Work in the garden	.49
Visit people in neighborhood	.24
Go bowling	-.24
Go to the movies	-.30
FACTOR 3: Friendship activities with work colleagues	
Visit people in same line of work, who work in different place of business	.50
Visit people who work in same place of business	.46
Watch outdoor sports (baseball, football)	.31
Engage in outdoor sports	.27
FACTOR 4: Social-drinking pattern	
Drink beer, wine, or liquor	.68
Go to bar or tavern	.33
Go to parties	.30
FACTOR 5: Extended family, neighborhood, play activities	
Go bowling	.39
Visit relatives	.34
Engage in outdoor sports	.30
Visit people in neighborhood	.26
Watch outdoor sports (baseball, football)	.25
Hours spent during average week watching television	.21
FACTOR 6: Social-cultural pattern	
Attend concerts, plays	.48
Go to parties	.42
Level of formal education	.32

Table III-16

Varimax Factor Analysis II

FACTOR 1: Organizational Memberships	Member of veterans/patriotic groups	.91
	Member of political/social action groups	.80
	Member of business organizations	.67
	Member of PTA/Boy Scouts	.68
	Member of org. other than those listed	.64
	Member of fraternal/service orgs.	.58
	Member of recreational/hobby groups	.53
	Member of religious associations	.52
	Member of professional associations	.51
	Member of labor unions	.47
	Number of organizational memberships	.34
	Having been an officer of an organization	.21
FACTOR 2: Cultural, Educational and Professional Activities	Bought books/paperbacks in last 4 months	.65
	Level of formal education	.55
	Read library books in last 4 months	.54
	Attend concerts, plays	.50
	Spend an evening reading a book/paperback	.48
	Member of professional association	.37
	Participant in adult education	.32
	Go to parties	.21
	Number of organizational memberships	.21
	Hours spent watching television	-.27
	Member of labor union	-.26
FACTOR 3: Organizational Participation	Number of organizational memberships	.75
	Number of monthly meetings attended	.72
	Having been an officer of an organization	.57
	Member of religious association	.38
	Member of fraternal/service orgs.	.33
	Member of recreational/hobby groups	.22
	Participant in adult education	.21
FACTOR 4: Social-Drinking Pattern	Participant in adult education	.23
	Go to parties	-.35
	Go to bar or tavern	-.62
	Drink beer, wine, or liquor	-.68
FACTOR 5: Extended Family, Neighborhood, Play Activities	Go bowling	.45
	Engage in outdoor sports	.36
	Visit relatives	.31
	Watch outdoor sports (baseball, football)	.27
	Go to the movies	.26
	Visit people in neighborhood	.22
	Hours spent watching television	.22
FACTOR 6: Friendship Activities with Work Colleagues	Visit people who work at same place	.50
	Visit people in same line of work, who work elsewhere	.47
	Watch outdoor sports (baseball, football)	.32
	Engage in outdoor sports	.22
FACTOR 7: Home-oriented, Neighborhood-oriented Pursuits	Work in the garden	.52
	Repair/improve things around the house	.50
	Visit people in neighborhood	.27
	Go to the movies	-.24

Adult Education Participation

Let us now turn our attention to adult education participation. The factor analyses and the patterns of leisure activities associated with formal education have already supplied a number of clues about the leisure styles which can be expected to be congenial with such participation.

Table III-17 indicates a large association between number of organizational memberships and adult education participation. Thus, the participation rate among those with no organizational memberships is 46 per cent, as compared to 70 per cent among those with three or more memberships (1). And the rates among those with one and two memberships is intermediate between the extremes (these results are shown in the totals column on the right-hand side of the table).

Table III-17

Number of Organizational Memberships and Adult Education Participation, by Formal Education

Number of Organizational Memberships	Less than H. S. grad	High School Graduate	1-3 years College	Coll. Grad. or more	Total
Three or more	60% (25)	70% (43)	74% (34)	71% (49)	70% (151)
Two	53% (32)	52% (44)	67% (21)	62% (21)	57% (118)
One	33% (58)	48% (82)	60% (40)	68% (31)	49% (211)
None	47% (32)	42% (38)	46% (24)	55% (20)	46% (114)
Total	45% (147)	52% (207)	62% (119)	66% (121)	55% (594)

The question still remains, however, whether the association between number of memberships and adult education participation is merely an artifact, a byproduct, of the relation between education and participation. Although the data are not as clearcut as might be wished, the general pattern reveals that the association between number of memberships and participation continues to persist within each of the four educational groups shown in the table. Indeed, among those with no organizational memberships, the association between education and participation is greatly reduced. The table may be tentatively interpreted as showing the existence of a general factor of participation which leads to participation in adult education, and which is partly independent although associated with the level of formal education.

This interpretation would be open to question if the same pattern were not found in other tables, using different indicators of a general participation factor. However, as the subsequent tables will show, the same pattern exists in all tables.

Table III-18 presents the data on number of organizational meetings attended monthly, and there is a strong association between this variable and adult education participation: the participation rate ranges from 42 per cent among those who attend no meetings to 78 per cent among those who attend five or more meetings a month. This relation also persists, at least as a general rule, within each of the four educational groups. Also, as before, the relation between education and adult education participation is reduced in the most active and the least active groups. Indeed, among the most active the original relation is reversed, but the numbers are small so that we cannot pursue this exception in detail. (Table III-18 is on page 99.)

Our interpretation so far, that participation in adult education is partly the result of a general participation syndrome, is also supported by the data concerned with the question of whether respondents have been officers of formal organizations. As Table III-19 indicates, those who have been officers are more likely to participate in adult education than those who

Table III-18

Average Number of Meetings Attended per Month and Adult Education Participation, by Formal Education

	Education				
Number of Meetings	Less than H. S. grad.	High School Graduate	1-3 years College	College grad. or more	Total
Five or more	90% (20)	76% (25)	76% (17)	73% (30)	78% (92)
Two to four	46% (24)	59% (46)	77% (30)	81% (31)	66% (131)
One	31% (45)	49% (51)	66% (29)	65% (20)	49% (145)
None	35% (26)	46% (46)	42% (19)	45% (20)	42% (111)
Total	45% (115)	55% (168)	66% (95)	68% (101)	58% (479)

have not (70 per cent to 49 per cent), and this relationship holds true within each of the four educational groups and is strongest among the least and the most educated.

Table III-19

Activity as Organizational Officer and Adult Education Participation, by Formal Education

	Education				
Has been an officer:	Less than H. S. grad.	High School Graduate	1-3 years College	College grad. or more	Total
Yes	68% (40)	61% (57)	71% (48)	81% (52)	70% (197)
No	33% (76)	51% (111)	61% (46)	55% (49)	49% (282)
Total	45% (116)	55% (168)	66% (94)	68% (101)	57% (479)

The last three tables have been concerned with activity in formal organizations, and the consequence of such activity for participation in adult education. Similar results are obtained with the index of minimal participation outside of organizational contexts. Once again there are some fluctuations in the associations, but in general Table III-20 shows that those engaged in a broader range of informal activities are more likely to participate in adult education (70 per cent to 46 per cent), and this holds true within the four educational groups. The table also shows that among those with the broadest range of interests the least educated are about as likely to participate as the college educated. (Table III-20 is on page 100.)

The relation between the scope of minimal leisure participation and adult education participation is particularly impressive nationally, as shown by the Gallup data (Table III-21). While the national rate is 14 per cent, the rate is 49 per cent among those who engage in eight or more of the activities which were inquired about. (Table III-21 is on page 100.)

When formal education is introduced as a control, this relation tends, in general, to persist, although it is strongest among the people with more than a high school education. Also, as can be seen in Table III-22 (page 101), among those who have engaged in only one or none of the leisure activities asked about, the relation between formal education and participation in adult education tends to disappear. Thus, people with constricted leisure perspective are not likely to participate in adult education, regardless of the amount of schooling they have had. It is also true, as mentioned earlier, that those who have the least formal education also tend to be most constricted in their leisure interests.

Table III-20

Number of Different Types of Activities Engaged in at Least Once a Year and Adult Education Participation, by Formal Education

Number of Activities	Education: Less than H. S. grad.	Education: High School Graduate	Education: 1-3 years College	Education: Coll. grad. or more	Total
16 or more	70% (20)	63% (32)	75% (32)	74% (38)	70% (112)
14-15	33% (18)	56% (50)	59% (37)	66% (38)	57% (143)
12-13	40% (35)	54% (65)	61% (23)	62% (26)	53% (149)
11 or less	43% (74)	43% (61)	52% (27)	58% (19)	46% (181)
Total	45% (147)	52% (207)	62% (119)	66% (121)	55% (594)

Table III-21

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Number of Different Types of Leisure Activities Participated in at Least Minimally (1963 Gallup Poll)

Number of Leisure Activities	Participation Rate
8-14	49% (141)
7	32% (95)
6	22% (141)
5	11% (186)
4	10% (192)
3	6% (219)
2	5% (222)
1	6% (194)
None	2% (104)
Total	14% (1494)

As an aside, we might mention how the structure of these results failed to meet our expectations. We expected to find a kind of causal sequence, by which more education would lead to broader leisure perspectives and more leisure activity, which in turn would lead to participation in adult education, among other things. In none of the analysis were the results such that they could be interpreted in this fashion. Rather, education appears to be only one among a number of characteristics which affect participation in adult education, and the other leisure activities which are associated with being educated tend to have independent effects.

Turning now to the index of maximal participation, i. e., the scope of leisure activities engaged in frequently, we have already mentioned that this index is unrelated to almost all the variables with which we have been concerned. It is not associated with education, and is also not associated with participation in adult education, as is shown in Table III-23 (page 101). Again, what appears to be important in frequent participation is not the number of activities engaged in, but rather the kinds of activities these are.

Table III-22

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Formal Education and Number of Different Types of Leisure Activities Engaged in at Least Minimally (1963 Gallup Poll)

Number of Leisure Activities	Education 0-8 Grade	 9-11 Grade	 H. S. Grad.	 More than H. S.	Total
6-14	13% (15)	16% (45)	32% (127)	42% (190)	34% (377)
4-5	5% (39)	6% (80)	8% (164)	20% (95)	10% (378)
2-3	3% (155)	3% (123)	6% (108)	16% (55)	5% (441)
0-1	3% (176)	8% (56)	2% (44)	5% (21)	4% (297)
Total	4% (385)	7% (304)	14% (443)	30% (361)	14% (1493)

Table III-23

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Number of Different Types of Leisure Activities Participated in Frequently

Number of Activities	Participation Rate
7 or more	56% (68)
6	50% (71)
5	57% (101)
4	53% (123)
3	57% (112)
2	57% (81)
0-1	58% (40)

This is shown in Table III-24, in which the index of maximal participation has been broken into two parts. Index 1 consists of cultural and social pursuits and the more active sports activities; Index 2, in contrast, is composed of activities which are oriented to a more constricted social circle, to relations with family and neighborhood, and activities in which the participant tends to be a spectator.

These two indexes are positively related to each other, but, as Table III-24 shows, Index 1 is positively associated with adult education participation while Index 2 is negatively associated with such participation. (Table III-24 is on page 102.)

In summary, then, three themes have been stressed. First, there tends to be a leisure style which consists of membership and participation in organizations, and this style is congenial to participation in adult education. Second, there is a style of broad leisure interests, expressed by the pursuit of a large number and variety of non-organizational activities. This is also congenial to adult education participation. Third, a distinction was made with regard to the content of the activities engaged in frequently. An interest in cultural matters, social relations outside the immediate family or neighborhood or immediate work situation, and active engagement in sports tend to be congenial to participation in adult education. In contrast, activities situated in one's immediate surroundings, friendship relations in more restricted social circles, and a passive engagement in sports and the mass media, tend to be negatively associated with participation in adult education.

Table III-24

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Number of Different Types of Leisure Activities Participated in Frequently

Index 1*	Participation Rate	Index 2*	Participation Rate
3-6	66% (106)	4-7	48% (169)
2	56% (149)	3	53% (160)
1	54% (222)	2	59% (131)
0	45% (119)	0-1	63% (136)

*Index 1 is composed of the following activities:
- Spend an evening reading a book or paperback
- Attend concerts, plays
- Crafts, art work, play music
- Visit people in same line of work, who work in different place
- Visit other friends
- Engage in outdoor sports
- Go bowling
- Go hunting, fishing, camping
- Go to parties

*Index 2 is composed of the following activities:
- Repair and improve things around the house
- Work in the garden
- Visit people who work in same place of business
- Visit people in the neighborhood
- Visit relatives
- Attend movies
- Watch outdoor sports
- Go to bar or tavern
- Drink beer, wine, or liquor

Variations and Exceptions

The picture so far has been painted with a broad brush, and it is necessary to point out some exceptions and variations. For example, membership in associations is, in general, positively related to adult education participation, but there are notable exceptions. Memberships in veterans-patriotic groups, in political-social action groups, and in labor unions are negatively associated with participation (Table III-25, page 103). The negative relations with regard to these first two types of associations might be explained by the fact that adult education usually includes only few courses which are politically relevant--at any rate, the number of cases involved were too small for us to pursue the question in more detail. An explanation in terms of irrelevance cannot be applied to labor unions, however, because a substantial proportion of adult education is relevant to vocational interests.

The explanation for this negative relation lies partly in the nature of the unions and partly in the character of their membership. Unlike members of other organizations, union members who attend union meetings are not more likely than their co-members to participate in adult education. Indeed, among men who belong only to unions and to no other organizations, the active have a somewhat lower rate of participation than the inactive. This is shown in Table III-26 (page 103). However, this negative association only holds true for the upper occupational strata of the union membership, as shown in Table III-27 (page 104). Among the semi-skilled and unskilled, union membership appears to be irrelevant to participation in adult education.

Our conjecture about the meaning of these findings is that (1) the skilled tend to be older, to be more established in their skills, and to have seniority, so that they are less likely to require vocational training; (2) union membership among the upper occupational strata might be taken

Table III-25

Membership in Various Organizations, by Adult Education Participation*

Type of Organization	Membership Yes	Membership No	Percentage Difference
Religious associations	79% (97)	51% (497)	.28
PTA and Boy Scouts	76% (75)	52% (519)	.24
Professional associations	72% (65)	53% (529)	.19
Business associations	69% (35)	54% (559)	.15
Other types not separately classified	64% (75)	54% (519)	.10
Fraternal, Service groups	63% (101)	54% (493)	.09
Recreational, Hobby groups	62% (94)	54% (500)	.08
Veterans, Patriotic groups	53% (17)	55% (577)	-.02
Political and Social Action	48% (23)	56% (571)	-.08
Trade Unions	48% (257)	61% (337)	-.13

*For a description of each of these types of organizations see Table III-5.

Table III-26

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Number and Type of Organizational Memberships and by Number of Meetings Attended Monthly

Number and Type of Memberships	Number of Meetings Attended Monthly	Participation Rate
Belongs to no organizations	--	46% (115)
Belongs only to a labor union	None	44% (59)
	One or more	38% (69)
Belongs to only one organization, but not to a union	None	41% (22)
	One or more	68% (63)
Belongs to a union, plus some other organization(s)	None	38% (16)
	One or more	58% (113)
Belongs to two or more organizations, none of which is a union	None	40% (15)
	One or more	77% (123)

as a sign of a decreased interest in social or occupational mobility; or (3) the relation may result from the tendency of unions composed of the more skilled workers to refrain from sponsoring adult education activities except for apprentices. Whatever the explanation, it is unfortunate that the American labor movement has not yet seen fit to emphasize the continuing education of their members. This lack is pronounced in comparison to certain british and Australian unions, which have bargained for and obtained day release classes for some of their members and the inclusion of worker education during working hours (2).

Table III-27

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Occupation (Only Includes Union Members Who Belong to No Other Organizations)

Occupation	Number of Meetings Attended Monthly	Participation Rate
Semi-skilled and unskilled	None	44% (27)
	One or more	43% (35)
Skilled, foremen, white collar	None	40% (30)
	One or more	33% (33)

With regard to informal leisure activities, we examined all relations between such activities and participation in adult education, holding formal education constant. In many instances, the relations were disturbed because of the effect of education. There were, however, two clear areas in which the relations were undisturbed. The first has to do with books, either reading them or buying them. Within each educational group, those who have experiences with books are more likely to participate in adult education than those who do not. The effect of a "book culture" is particularly strong in the less educated groups (see Table III-28).

Table III-28

Spending an Evening Reading and Adult Education Participation, by Formal Education

Spend an evening reading a book or paperback:	Less than H. S. grad.	High school Graduate	1-3 years College	Coll. grad. or more	Total
Once a week or more	50% (72)	65% (102)	67% (51)	69% (78)	63% (303)
Several times a year to about three times per month	53% (40)	44% (57)	64% (45)	64% (36)	55% (178)
Less than once a year	26% (35)	37% (49)	48% (23)	43% (7)	36% (114)
Total	45% (147)	52% (208)	62% (119)	66% (121)	55% (595)

Table III-29

Drinking Beer, Wine, or Liquor and Adult Education Participation, by Formal Education

Drinking Beer, Wine, or Liquor	Less than H. S. grad.	High school Graduate	1-3 years College	Coll. grad. or more	Total
Almost every day	27% (30)	40% (58)	48% (35)	56% (34)	43% (157)
Once a week	38% (50)	53% (68)	63% (35)	62% (42)	53% (195)
Less than once a week	59% (34)	61% (59)	70% (37)	69% (29)	64% (159)
Never	59% (32)	57% (21)	75% (12)	94% (16)	68% (81)
Total	45% (146)	52% (206)	62% (119)	66% (121)	55% (592)

The other area has to do with drinking. Holding education constant, we found that the negative effect of drinking persists at all educational levels (Table III-29). Clearly, participation in adult education is a sober enterprise.

Conclusion

The data examined in this chapter show that the better educated participate more in general--they belong to more organizations, attend more monthly meetings, are sufficiently committed to have been officers of formal organizations, and have at least minimal contact with a broader range and variety of informal leisure activities. They also have higher participation rates in adult education.

Further analysis suggested that participation in adult education is not merely the consequence of formal education, however, but is also affected by the style in which leisure time is organized. Within each educational level, the more active are also more likely than their less active peers to be adult education participants. Indeed, among the most active people there are occasions when the least and the most educated have about equal participation rates.

A distinction was made in this chapter between minimal and frequent participation in specified leisure activities. With regard to frequent participation, it was found that the following activities were most congenial to adult education participation: (1) cultural activities, (2) social relations outside the immediate family or neighborhood or immediate work situation, and (3) active engagement in sports. In contrast, frequent participation in one's immediate surroudnings, friendship relations in more restricted circles, and a passive engagement in sports and the mass media, tend to affect adult education participation rates adversely. A pattern of frequent drinking was also found to be negatively associated with participation in adult education.

Some exceptions to the general patterns described above were found. The most pronounced of these was the negative relation between adult education participation and trade union membership. This finding suggests that other factors are operating, and some of these will be explored in the next two chapters.

Chapter 9: Participation and the Character of Employment

In the American economy an increasing proportion of jobs have come to require highly complex and flexible skills. Technological changes occur so quickly that many workers cannot rely on what they learned earler as full-time students. These changes are reflected in the growing importance of professionals in the labor force and in the growing importance of adult education (1).

More than half the participants in adult education say they take courses to help them in their present job or to get a new and better job. Participants who are vocationally oriented tend to take more courses than those who are non-vocationally oriented, and their participation tends to be more salient in their lives (2). In our analysis of the Community Survey we showed how participation in adult education is related to age, occupation, race, and education. In this chapter we will indicate in detail how occupations are linked to vocational adult education (i. e., courses taken because of their relevance to current or future jobs).

In general, quite different situations impel men to study for the jobs they currently hold and for jobs they would like to obtain. Table III-30 indicates that, within the blue-collar and white-collar occupational groups, men who hold the top status positions predominantly study to maintain the jobs they already have. About half of the professionals, managers, and owners (these are the top status jobs in the white-collar occupations) participate in adult education to help them in their current jobs, while less than a tenth of them study to obtain a new position. In contrast, people in clerical and sales positions (these are the bottom status jobs in the white collar occupations) are much less likely to study for their current job and much more likely to desire help in getting a new job; they are also less likely to participate for vocational reasons.

Table III-30

Occupation, Studying at Home for the Job, and Vocational Adult Education

Occupation	Study at home for current job*	Take courses to help on current job*	Take courses to help get a new job*	Take courses for non-vocational reasons*	Total*
WHITE COLLAR					
Professionals	83% (93)	48%	5	47	100% (64)
Managers & owners of large & medium-sized businesses	50% (50)	53%	7	40	100% (30)
Small businessmen (fewer than 50 employees)	44% (54)	56%	11	33	100% (18)
Clerical and sales	36% (118)	27%	14	59	100% (63)
BLUE COLLAR					
Foremen	52% (21)	56%	6	38	100% (16)
Skilled workers	36% (100)	41%	14	45	100% (49)
Semi-skilled workers and operatives**	16% (109)	35%	15	50	100% (54)
Unskilled and personal service workers	6% (35)	6%	33	61	100% (18)

*The proportion studying at home for their job include both participants and non-participants in adult education. The proportions specified in the three middle columns of the table include only adult education participants, and therefore total to 100% as is shown in the totals column on the right.

**Includes at least eight apprentices, who are required to take courses.

A similar pattern is found within the blue-collar occupations. A high proportion of the foremen, whose jobs are at the top of the status hierarchy, take adult education courses to help them with their present job, while only a few study to obtain a new job. Among the unskilled, most of the participants in vocational education wish to obtain a new job, while only a few study for their current job. Clearly, within the blue-collar and white-collar occupational groups, those with the most prestigious positions study to maintain that position, while those at the bottom of the hierarchy study to move out of their position.

Table III-30 also shows that occupational status is associated with having to study at home for the job. Indeed, it is commonly acknowledged that one of the major determinants of an occupation's prestige is the amount of special training required to enter and maintain oneself in it (3). In this regard the table shows some overlap between the blue-collar and white-collar hierarchies. Foremen stand at the top of the blue-collar hierarchy and often hold jobs demanding much skill and knowledge, while clerical and sales workers resemble in many respects the skilled and semi-skilled sections of the blue-collar labor force (4). According to our data, clerical and sales workers resemble the skilled in studying at home for their jobs, and resemble the semi-skilled in the proportions taking adult education courses for aid to obtain new jobs.

The occupations which have high proportions studying at home also have high proportions taking adult education courses for vocational reasons. The same pattern is found at the individual level: men who study at home for their jobs are much more likely than others to take job-connected courses. Among 50 men who said that their jobs required them to study at home, 56 per cent were also enrolled in courses connected with their work; among 189 men who studied at home voluntarily, 36 per cent took such courses; and among 337 men who did not study at home, only 10 per cent were enrolled.

The higher an occupation's status, the more likely its practitioners are to participate in adult education to help them on their jobs and the less likely they are to participate in order to get a different job. Nevertheless, not all persons in high status occupations take vocationally-oriented courses, and only a small proportion of those in low status occupations take courses to assist in getting a better job. What is it about the nature of jobs which induces men to take courses?

Adult Education for the Present Job

An occupational title, such as "professional" or "sales worker," gives some indication of the technical content of a job which requires a worker to study for it. Other aspects of the job may also make study almost mandatory. The effects of three such characteristics are summarized in Table III-31 (page 108).

The number of men supervised is one indicator of the degree of "responsibility" contained in a position. Men who supervise more than five subordinates are about twice as likely to study at home for their jobs as men who have no supervisory responsibilities. The prospect of promotion is also associated with studying at home for the job. While 55 per cent study among those whose promotion chances are excellent, only 29 per cent study among those whose promotion chances are poor. Finally, the criteria which men believe will be used for promotions affect home study. When education or "doing well on the job" are perceived to be the most important criteria for promotion, men are more likely to study than when seniority or social abilities are used as the promotional criteria.

The same variables determine participation in vocational education: occupation, promotion chances, and promotion criteria are all related to participation. These variables are themselves related. Thus managerial and professional people are more likely than those in lower statuses to report having excellent or good chances of promotion, and they are also more likely to report that doing well on the job is the most important criterion for promotion where they work. Men whose chances for promotion are good are also more apt to believe promotions are based on education or doing well on the job. These may be rationalizations: men who are unlikely to be promoted may think that "it's who you know rather than what you know" that counts. For our purpose this makes little difference. If a man perceives that education is unrelated to promotion on his present job, he is less likely to attempt to secure an education, whether or not his perceptions are accurate.

Table III-31

Home Study by Supervisory Position, Promotion Chances, and Promotion Criteria

Number of other workers supervised	Percentage who study at home for their jobs*
None	32% (335)
1-5	51% (137)
6-20	59% (71)
21 or more	59% (32)
Respondent's estimation of his promotion chances in the next few years	
Excellent	55% (111)
Good	43% (123)
Fair	30% (128)
Poor	29% (126)
Respondent's estimate of the most important criterion for promotion in his place of employment	
Education	55% (85)
Doing well on the job	46% (255)
Ability to get along with others	38% (74)
Knowing the right people	35% (65)
Seniority	23% (60)

*Either voluntary study or study required by employer

Table III-32 presents the joint associations of these three variables with participation in vocational education. (Table III-32 is on page 109.) The table shows clearly that men are more likely to participate in vocational education if their employers base promotions on education or doing well on the job. Eight comparisons are possible between men who report their employers use these criteria and those who report the other criteria; in seven of the eight the rate is larger for those in the former group, and the exception could be reversed by the addition of just a single case. The importance of promotion criteria is greater for clerical and sales workers and for lower manual and service workers--let us call them "low skill workers" for convenience--than it is for managerial, professional, foremen, or skilled workers. It seems likely that those in higher statuses (whether white-collar or blue-collar workers) have independent commitments to high skill levels and are less influenced by their employers' standards than those in low skill positions.

In general, men whose promotion chances are excellent or good are more likely to participate in vocational education than those whose promotion chances are only fair or poor. This is true in six out of eight possible comparisons. Again, however, the effect is much larger for low skill workers in both the white-collar and blue-collar hierarchies. Many of the foremen and skilled workers may have advanced as far as they can in their places of employment; vocational education is probably a means for maintaining their present statuses rather than achieving higher statuses. For low skill workers, on the other hand, vocational education is likely to be seen as useless unless promotion chances are good and based on considerations of technical skill.

The relation between occupation and vocational participation remains even after the effects of promotion chances and promotion criteria are taken into account. Clearly, some jobs require continuing education if the worker is to perform the tasks required. It also seems likely that many highly skilled occupations recruit and socialize their members so that they value the skillful practice of their trades (5).

Table III-32

Proportion Participating in Vocational Education, By Occupation, Promotion Chances, and Promotion Criteria

		Promotion Criteria		
Occupation	Promotion chances	Education or doing well on the job	Ability to get along with others, knowing the right people, or seniority	Total
Managerial or professional	Excellent or good	34% (59)	38%** (13)	35% (72)
	Fair or poor	36% (28)	14%** (14)	29% (42)
	Total	34% (87)	26% (27)	32% (114)
Clerical and sales	Excellent or good	24% (37)	6%** (17)	22% (54)
	Fair or poor	18% (22)	0% (26)	8% (48)
	Total	22% (59)	2% (43)	14% (102)
Foremen and skilled workers	Excellent or good	31% (32)	14%** (14)	26% (46)
	Fair or poor	34% (32)	13% (30)	24% (62)
	Total	33% (64)	14% (44)	25% (108)
Lower manual and service workers	Excellent or good	32% (31)	30% (23)	31% (54)
	Fair or poor	14% (43)	5% (43)	9% (86)
	Total	22% (74)	14% (66)	18% (140)

*Self-employed and unemployed men excluded.

**Percentages based on fewer than 20 cases are especially unreliable.

Further analysis using the categories presented so far becomes difficult because important categories are represented by too few men. Therefore we shall combine some of the variables into a summary index of the relevance of education for occupations. Four (in principle non-exclusive) types of jobs for which education is more than usually necessary are the following:

(a) Professionals. In this study an occupation is coded a profession only if it typically requires four years or more of college.

(b) Responsible managers and supervisors. This category consists of those who supervise more than 20 others, who are not supervised closely themselves, and who are not professionals.

(c) Workers for whom promotions are likely, based on technical abilities. This category consists of men who say their promotion chances are excellent or good and that promotions depend on education or doing well on the job (and are not professionals, apprentices, or responsible managers or supervisors).

(d) Apprentices. While apprentices are required to study in order to become skilled workers, there are apparently only eight of them in our sample; since they differ considerably from the above, they will not be considered in the following discussion.

(e) The remaining men in the sample are divided into white collar workers, manual workers, other workers, and the unemployed. Table III-33 suggests that this classification does a fairly good job of accounting for variation in vocational education participation.

Table III-33

Technological Jobs and Participation in Vocational Education

Type of Job	Have taken a course in the last year to help on current job	Have taken a course in the last 5 years to help vocationally	Have participated in adult education of any kind, past or present
Professionals	33% (90)	71% (90)	92% (90)
Responsible managers and men dependent on education for forthcoming promotions	30% (130)	52% (130)	79% (130)
Other white collar workers	16% (146)	36% (146)	59% (146)
Other manual workers	14% (189)	34% (189)	59% (189)
Other workers and unemployed	11% (36)	31% (36)	58% (36)

Men with technological jobs are much more likely than other men to have taken a course of this nature during the past year to help them on their jobs. If they have not taken a course of this nature during the past year, they are likely to have taken such a course sometime during the past five years. The second column in Table III-33 should be interpreted with caution, since it combines courses taken for help in current jobs with courses taken for help in getting a new job. Although this might have been expected to reduce the apparent differences between men in technological jobs and other men, the differences between the groups are even larger than in the first column. Furthermore, men with technological jobs are more likely than other men to have participated in adult education, either vocational or non-vocational, at some time in their lives.

The analysis of the Community Survey showed that formal education is highly correlated with participation in adult education and that, when formal education is controlled, the association between occupation and participation in all types of adult education is greatly reduced. However, this is not true for the association between occupation and participation in vocational education, as Table III-34 shows.

Table III-34

Proportion Participating in Vocational Education, by Type of Job and Formal Education

Type of Job	Level of Education: Less than high school graduate	High school graduate	Some college or more
Professionals	-- (0)	* (7)	33% (83)
Responsible managers and men dependent on education for forthcoming promotions	12% (32)	35% (55)	37% (43)
Other white collar workers	8% (24)	14% (64)	22% (58)
Other manual workers	9% (77)	17% (72)	20% (39)

*The number of cases is too small for meaningful percentages.

For each level of education, those with technological jobs are more likely than those with other jobs to take courses to help themselves in their current work. It is also true that, for each type of job, those with more education are more likely to take such courses.

At this point our statistical analysis can go no further because of the paucity of cases in critical categories. However, since many of the statistical associations have been large, a qualitative examination of some deviant cases may assist in determining the limits of the explanations we have advanced.

Professionals who do not study. There were only three men classified as professionals who neither took vocationally-oriented courses in adult education within the past five years nor studied at home for their jobs (6). One of the three, an accountant, had taken vocationally-oriented courses more than five years ago. Another was an accountant for a religious organization who had recently immigrated from England, but had never taken any courses in adult education. The third was an industrial photographer who perhaps should not have been classified as a professional; this is an occupation which seldom requires a college degree, although this man did graduate from college.

Responsible managers who do not study. Only six men classified as responsible managers (supervised more than 20 others, not closely supervised themselves, and white collar workers) had neither taken vocationally-oriented courses in the past year nor studied at home for their jobs. Three of them had taken vocational courses sometime during the past five years, one had taken such a course more than five years ago, and for one no information was available about the kinds of courses he had taken more than five years ago. (He was the Vice President of an insurance company who also taught folk dancing in his spare time, and the courses he described were folk dance courses.) The remaining deviant case in this category was probably misclassified as a "manager." Although he supervised 35 other workers, they were adolescent paper boys for one of the Oakland newspapers.

Employed professionals with good promotion chances who study at home but do not take courses. There were 11 men in this category. Four of them had taken courses relevant to their jobs before the preceding year. Three were young men whose full-time education was just coming to a close: two of these were interns in hospitals, and the third was a public health chemist working for a master's degree in physiological chemistry. Two engineers were taking courses which were apparently relevant to engineering (an engineering course and calculus), but in response to the interviewer's question denied taking the courses for aid in their current jobs. The remaining two men in this category had never taken any adult education courses and said that, while they would like to do so, they were "too busy." Both were young (25 and 29) with young children.

Managers (with 20 or fewer subordinates) with good promotion chances who do not take courses. Six of these men were not taking any courses to help them on their jobs, but two had taken such courses within the past five years. Two others were quite young, 24 and 26, so that their chances for participation were limited. The former was an assistant shipping superintendent for an oil company; he had a Master's degree in business administration but said that his education was mostly useless for his present job. He expected to use it more in the future, after getting promoted. The other young man was a buyer for a university research laboratory. Three other men were not freshly out of school and held responsible for technological jobs, but had never taken adult education courses to help them. These are clear exceptions. One, a personnel director 51 years old, was working for a degree at the Academy of Asian Studies in San Francisco. Another, the Plant Superintendent of a door factory, had only gone through ninth grade as a full-time student but received his high school diploma in adult education. (He was dissatisfied with the high school courses he took, because "I already knew everything I need for my present employment," but he was very satisfied with a course in public speaking which he had taken since.) The final exception was the produce manager in a grocery. He had only a high school education and liked his job, but felt going to school would only distract him from his work.

There were two skilled workers, who supervised many others, had good chances for promotions, and thought that promotions in their places of employment depended mostly on education or doing well on the job, but who did not take courses. One, a printing foreman, was not taking any vocational courses in the year of the interview, but had previously. The other was a highly skilled machinist of 54 with less than a high school education; on reading his interview transcript we got the impression that he exaggerated his importance and the number of workers he supervised.

In summary, this examination of apparently "deviant cases" has shown that most of them are not "genuine" deviants. Almost all men in responsible technological jobs find courses in adult education necessary at some time in their lives. Most of the apparent exceptions had taken courses before the year in which they were interviewed. Still others had scarcely finished their full-time schooling. A few of the other apparent exceptions seemed to be the result of faulty classification. Some men "misclassified" themselves, by denying that courses in subjects relevant for their jobs were taken to help them in their work. A few occupations were misclassified by our coders.

The preceding paragraphs have dealt with deviant cases at one extreme: men in technological jobs who do not study. Now we shall consider the opposite kind of deviant case: men in apparently unskilled jobs, with relatively poor promotion chances, and working in places where education does not improve promotion chances, who nevertheless take courses to help them on their jobs.

Clerical and Sales Workers who take courses to help them on their jobs. There were sixteen men in this category. Eight of them, however, were included because of relatively simple classification errors:

---one case represented a small businessman erroneously classified as a sales worker;

---four cases were erroneously classified as adult education participants in the Community Survey;

---two men who said they were taking courses "to help them on their jobs" were referring to a second job they held in their extra hours (a real estate salesman and a public accountant;

---two men gave inconsistent responses: they said they were taking courses to help them on their present jobs in response to a fixed-alternative question and said they were taking courses to help them get a new job in response to an open-ended question.

The remaining eight cases include a time-study man for the Navy who apparently has a quasi-apprenticeship position. White collar workers in government service are often eligible for programs in which an individual, after a long period of training both on and off the job, acquires a certificate which gives him definite employment rights. Two other men were lower level managers and might possibly have had enough responsibility to justify their classification as "managers" instead of "clerical" workers. Three of the remaining four worked in either banking or real estate. A more detailed classification of occupations would have distinguished them from other clerical and sales workers as "quasi-professional sales and financial workers." There are many occupations like these which involve significant fiduciary responsibilities, which are regulated by governmental agencies, and which are represented by quasi-professional associations of practitioners. They can be distinguished from the established professions by the fact that training for them has not become institutionalized in universities. The final apparent exception consisted of a salesman of producers' goods who took a Dale Carnegie course in selling. (He was also quasi-professional; he had a bachelor's degree and was a member of the American Foundry Society.) Thus, in considering this sample in greater detail, we found no men in white collar occupations involving little skill or responsibility who took adult education courses to assist them in their work.

Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers who take courses to help them on their jobs. We noted above that our sample apparently included eight apprentices, men participating in programs organized with the assistance of unions and leading to journeyman status. Aside from these, there are nine remaining workers in this category. Three represent simple errors of classification: one was an error produced by machine, two were erroneously classified as participants in the Community Survey. (One of them, a bus driver, had taken a one-day course on safety organized by his company. This is not "adult education" as used in this report, because the training did not extend over three days or more.) A fourth man was a part-time minister as well as a factory operative, and his adult education course (in typing!) was taken in order to assist him in the ministry. A fifth, a hospital orderly, was inconsistent in his responses; in answer to one question he indicated that he was taking the course (in accounting) to help him in his job, in response to another question he indicated that he was interested in getting a new job.

Two of the remaining semi-skilled workers were recent immigrants to the United States who were taking courses in English; both said they were taking courses to help them on their jobs. The other two men were an appliance repair man for a department store who was striving to get his employer's job when he retired and a screw machine operator who had taken a course in production management in hopes of getting a promotion in his company. In these cases the word "job" is ambiguous: both men hoped to change their *positions* while retaining the same *employer.* It is known that unskilled workers often respond to questions about "what is your job" by naming their employers (7). Thus, just as with the lower white collar workers, this category offers no genuine exceptions: manual occupations involving little skill do not induce their practitioners to go to school to acquire skills related to their work.

In summary, the correlations we have obtained and the preceding analysis of apparently deviant cases suggest strongly that whether or not a man participates in adult education to help him on the job depends to a very large degree on the character of the job itself. In some situations vocational education is necessary and almost all workers sooner or later participate, while in others such education is not perceived to be necessary and practically no workers participate. Evidently the *situation* is critical: we need not examine the backgrounds or attitudes of the individual worker. Whatever his social origins and whatever his personality, he will take courses to help him on his job if and only if it appears to be necessary for the job.

This is only part of vocational adult education, of course. A complementary and equally important part is education taken in order to acquire a new job. While the former type is relevant to maintaining social status, the latter type is important for acquiring new statuses.

Adult Education to Assist in Getting a New Job

In designing the study we speculated that one of the factors leading to vocational adult education would be the extent to which a man wished to change his occupation. The following question was therefore included in the questionnaire: "Thinking about the future, would you rather stay in your present line of work or would you prefer to go into a different line of work?" The results show that, in both the blue-collar and white-collar hierarchies, those in the more skilled occupations are less likely than the less skilled to desire a change in their "line of work." Thus, among professionals, managers, and small businessmen, only 19 per cent would prefer to change; this figure is 27 per cent among foremen and skilled workers, climbs to 34 per cent among clerical and sales workers, and is 46 per cent among the unskilled and personal service workers. The men who wished to change their occupations were then asked to specify the occupation into which they wished to move. There was a tendency for these men to choose a white-collar occupation if they were already in the white-collar labor force, or a blue-collar occupation if they already had blue-collar jobs (8). About a fourth of the men, however, had only vague ideas about the types of occupations they would prefer to be in.

What, now, is the connection between wishing to change one's "line of work" and participation in adult education? Table III-35 indicates that men who would like to change their occupations are more apt than the vocationally satisfied to enroll in a course for aid in getting a new job. Only three per cent of the satisfied enroll in such a course, as compared to a sixth (17 per cent) of the men who wish to be vocationally mobile. Among the latter, those in the top white-collar occupations (professional, managerial, and small businesses) enroll in somewhat lower proportions than the others.

Table III-35

Proportion Participating for Assistance in Getting a New Job, by Occupation and Occupational Commitment

Present Occupation	Prefer staying in present occupation	Would like to change occupations
Professional, managerial, and small business	2% (160)	9% (34)
Clerical and sales	4% (77)	18% (38)
Foremen and skilled workers	0% (84)	22% (36)
Semi-skilled, unskilled and personal service workers	3% (78)	18% (66)

The question may also be asked, whether participation for aid in job mobility is connected with the types of occupations which the mobile men desire. Table III-36 indicates that desiring to move to a white-collar job is no more likely to induce participation than desiring a blue-collar job. However, those aspiring to a skilled manual job have the highest rate of participation, while those aspiring to the less skilled occupations (clerical and sales, semi- and unskilled manual) have markedly low rates. The men who were uncertain or vague about their preferred occupation also have a low rate of participation, probably because their aspirations have not crystallized into a definite plan of action.

Table III-36

Proportion Participating for Assistance in Getting a New Job, by Preferred Occupation

Professional	23% (31)
Quasi-professional and administrative	18% (22)
Clerical and sales	4% (24)
Skilled manual jobs	29% (35)
Other manual jobs	0% (7)
Other specific jobs	20% (20)
Vague and general; don't know	8% (36)
Present line of work preferred	3% (418)

In discussing participation for help on the current job, we noted the importance of promotion opportunities: those with good promotion chances were more likely to study for their jobs than those with poor chances. The reverse should be true with regard to study for a different job: men with poor promotion chances should be more likely than others to take courses for aid in getting a new job. Table III-37 shows that this is true only among foremen, skilled workers, and those in low-skill occupations who want to change their positions. The opportunity structure within the firm may be important in persuading employees to seek opportunities elsewhere, but its effect is minimal in leading them to vocational education except when they already desire a change in occupation.

Table III-37

Proportion Participating for Assistance in Getting a New Job, by Occupation, Occupational Commitment, and Promotion Chances

Present Occupation	Promotion chances	Those who prefer their present occupation	Those who would like to change occupations	Total
Professional & managerial	Excellent or good	3% (64)	* (8)	3% (72)
	Fair or poor	5% (37)	* (8)	7% (45)
Foremen and skilled	Excellent or good	0% (32)	13% (15)	4% (47)
	Fair or poor	0% (45)	25% (20)	8% (65)
Low skill workers**	Excellent or good	4% (70)	11% (35)	7% (105)
	Fair or poor	3% (76)	20% (60)	10% (136)

*Too few cases to compute percentages

**Clerical and sales, semi-skilled and unskilled manual, and personal service workers.

We also speculated that job insecurity would affect adult education participation, since men who feel they may soon lose their present jobs may attempt to prepare themselves for another. We asked respondents, "Do you feel fairly secure about keeping your present job or is there some chance that you will lose it in the next year or so?" (This was also asked of small businessmen, with appropriate changes in wording.)

A relatively small proportion of men thought they might lose their jobs: 12 per cent of professionals, managers, and small businessmen; 17 per cent of foremen and skilled workers; and only 9 per cent of semi- or unskilled white collar or manual workers. The high proportion for skilled workers stems from the fact that many are employed in the construction industry, where men frequently change employers. The small percentage of low skill workers who feel insecure in their jobs is either a peculiarity of the matched sample or is based on misperceptions on the part of the respondents, for it is known that unemployment is much more frequently experiences by men in these job categories than in the more highly skilled trades (9).

In any case, Table III-38 indicates that men who feel insecure about their jobs are somewhat more likely to take courses for aid in obtaining a new job. This tendency is small, however, and does not exist at all among the relatively unskilled. It appears that *wanting* to change occupations is associated with participation in vocational education, while feeling that one is *required* to change is not.

Table III-38

Proportion Participating for Assistance in Getting a New Job, by Occupation and Job Security

Present occupation	Those who feel they will be able to keep their present job	Those who feel they will lose their present job in the next year or so
Professional, managerial or small business	3% (168)	8% (24)
Foremen and skilled workers	4% (95)	16% (19)
Clerical and sales, semi-skilled, unskilled, and personal service workers	9% (224)	9% (23)

Adult education can be used for upward mobility in occupational status, but it is not the only or even the major avenue of mobility. Traditionally, the ideal of self-employment has been attractive to men whose lack of educational qualifications presented barriers to mobility by other means. In a study of Oakland men conducted in 1949, Lipset and Bendix found that 23 per cent of the manual workers had been self-employed at some time in their lives and 67 per cent of them had thought of going into business for themselves (10). In the present study we found that 21 per cent of the manual workers had been self-employed and 53 per cent of those who had never been self-employed had thought seriously about going into business for themselves (11).

Among men who have not been self-employed we found that manual workers were more likely to aspire to self-employment than white collar workers. It seems reasonable to suppose that this difference is the result of the more formidable barriers which keep manual workers from advancement--lacking the necessary education, they strive toward a form of work where formal educational requirements are absent. Self-employment would also make them more independent of the supervision of others. In any case, it is plausible to hypothesize that aspirations for self-employment *compete* with adult education for the attention of manual workers. As Table III-39 indicates, however, this argument is false. The proportions taking courses for help in getting a new job fluctuate considerably, and the differences are generally small. (Table III-39 is on page 116.)

Similarly inconclusive results were found with regard to other types of status-advancing

Table III-39

Proportion Participating for Assistance in Getting a New Job, by Occupation and Experience with Self-Employment

Present Occupation	Now self-employed	Self-employed in past	Seriously considered self-employment	Never considered self-employment
Professional & managerial	0% (19)	14% (29)	3% (39)	0% (54)
Small business	4% (50)	-- (0)	-- (0)	-- (0)
Foremen and skilled workers	-- (0)	7% (28)	8% (50)	3% (39)
Low skill workers	-- (0)	4% (53)	11% (95)	9% (106)

activities which might at first be thought to compete with adult education. For example, advancement might be sought by taking a second job instead of enrolling in vocational courses. However, those who engage in "moonlighting" are more likely than others to take courses for aid in obtaining a new job or for other reasons.

Social mobility need not be individual mobility; men in an occupation may act together to elevate its prestige and secure greater material rewards for themselves. Such collective mobility striving may be associated with reduced individual striving for mobility. The effects of union membership are investigated in the next two tables.

Table III-40 shows that manual workers who are union members are less apt than non-members to desire a change in occupations. This relation is particularly strong among the less skilled manual workers, and suggests that union membership and identification may reduce individual mobility aspirations. In contrast, union membership among white-collar workers leads to a higher liklihood of mobility aspirations, although this probably reflects the relative undesirability of the jobs which these men hold (e. g., grocery store clerks). Of course, causal interpretations are difficult; while collective mobility may compete with individual mobility, it is also likely that manual workers who are not union members also have the less satisfying and lucrative jobs.

Table III-40

Proportion Who Desire to Change Occupations, by Present Occupation and Union Membership

Present occupation	Union members	Non-members
Professional, managerial and small business	24% (21)	17% (173)
Clerical and sales	41% (34)	30% (81)
Foremen and skilled workers	28% (81)	32% (38)
Other manual, and personal service workers	41% (116)	68% (28)

Although the pattern in Table III-40 is fairly clear (even though the interpretation may be ambiguous), the relation between union membership and enrollment in vocational education exists in only a few occupational groups. As Table III-41 shows, union members among white-collar workers are less likely to enroll in courses for help on their current job. This may be because they have greater job security, or because their jobs are less skilled and therefore require less continuous training. They are somewhat more likely to enroll in courses to help them get new jobs, but here the relations are so small as to be insignificant. Similarly, the relations between union membership and enrollment are exceedingly small among manual workers, and that is where union membership is most common and important. These small effects are probably produced more by the character of the jobs than by any tendency for collective mobility to replace aspirations for individual mobility. It appears, then, that collective mobility does not compete with individual mobility, at least in terms of enrollment in vocational education.

Table III-41

Proportion Participating in Vocational Adult Education, by Occupation and Union Membership

Present occupation	Help on their current jobs Union members	 Non-members	Help them get a new job Union members	 Non-members
Professional, managerial, and small business	14% (21)	31% (172)	7% (21)	3% (172)
Clerical and sales	3% (35)	19% (83)	11% (35)	7% (83)
Foremen and skilled workers	22% (81)	28% (39)	4% (81)	13% (39)
Other manual and personal service workers	14% (116)	14% (28)	10% (116)	7% (28)

While the effects of union membership on participation in adult education may be small, some of our data suggest that associated attitudes have a stronger impact. Labor unions today tend to be relatively conservative politically (this was not always true, e.g., the IWW), and tend not to be alienated from the political and economic systems. Indeed, some studies have shown that American workers who are loyal to their unions are more likely to be loyal to their employers than those who are alienated from their unions (12). The same was true in the present study: manual workers who were favorable to unions were more likely than others to be favorable to business. Union membership cannot, therefore, be taken as an indicator of alienation from the "system."

We did include indicators of alienation from the dominant society in our interview schedule, on the premise that alienation would reduce aspirations for conventional success (13). The "rebel" rejects the conventional goals of his society and the conventional means for achieving them, and should therefore participate less in accepted institutions such as adult education (14). One indicator of alienation is agreement with the statement, "Big companies control too much of American business"; the relations between agreement and enrollment in vocational education are presented in Table III-42.

This table shows that among small businessmen, lower white-collar workers, and upper manual workers, those who are alienated from big business are less likely than the non-alienated to participate in programs of vocational education. The difference is especially large among small businessmen (15). In these three occupation strata, located in the middle of the occupational hierarchy, status aspirations tend to be linked with support for the dominant political and economic system, and the associations with participation rates follow from this. Among professionals and lower manual workers, on the other hand, this link need not exist. Lower manual workers usually aspire to higher positions within the blue-collar hierarchy, and such aspirations are consistent with loyalty to the working class even if it is accompanied by alienation from big business. Professionals are often independent of the dominant stratification system, and professional aspirations need not be positively correlated with it (16). Thus, among the highest and lowest occupational strata, support for big business is not positively associated with participation in vocational adult education; there is, in fact, a slight negative correlation. In the middle occupational strata, however, participation rates are higher among those who support big business than among the alienated. (Table III-42 is on page 118.)

In the last few pages we have shown that, while there are a number of alternative channels of upward mobility in American society, none of them seriously competes with participation in vocational adult education. The desire to become self-employed, or the possession of a second job ("moonlighting"), are not negatively associated with such participation. Those workers who

Table III-42

Proportion Participating in Vocational Adult Education, by Occupation and Alienation from Big Business

	"Big companies control too much of American business."	
Present occupation	Agree	Disagree
Professional & managerial	37% (56)	36% (87)
Small business	13% (30)	36% (22)
Clerical and sales	18% (67)	29% (51)
Foremen and skilled workers	27% (78)	39% (41)
Lower manual and personal service workers	26% (103)	21% (34)

act collectively to help themselves are almost as likely to take vocational courses as those who do not. Finally, alienation from the dominant economic system tends to inhibit participation, but only in the middle occupational strata.

In addition to these findings, the major conclusion so far has been that men tend to take courses for aid in finding a new job when they are dissatisfied with their present work and wish to change occupations. Not all workers who desire vocational mobility participate in vocational education, however. Below are qualitative examinations of apparently deviant cases to throw further light on this relation.

Low-skill workers who want to change occupations but do not take courses. There were 34 low-skill workers under the age of 40 in this category; interview transcripts were available for 33 of them (17). Three cases can be accounted for immediately as errors of one sort or another. One man was a plumbing inspector who was actually a journeyman but was coded as a semi-skilled worker (since this is the way the census codes most "inspectors" in the manual trades). Two men were inconsistent in their responses, saying that their courses were for their "present job" in answer to one question but indicating clearly that they were studying in order to get a new job.

The reasons for non-participation were apparent in only 11 more cases. Five men indicated that they were or would be working for college degrees, either through adult education or by quitting their jobs and going back to school. (One, an automobile assembly worker, intended to go to school full-time when he was placed on the night shift.) Men working for college degrees tend to avoid saying that they are taking courses to help them get a specific new job. Four men had taken adult education courses in the past five years to assist in getting a new job.

In cases like these, and in some others, an important factor appears to be conditions in the labor market. Some men have already sought and achieved the education necessary to get a new job but have not found one; other men with college degrees have been unable to find suitable jobs and have decided to return to school for a teaching credential or something like it. For example:

> Case 1176. A butcher who evidently inherited his job from his father. He has a bachelor's degree in decorative arts and would like to go into business as an antique dealer, but he has not found it possible to do so. (In the meantime he is taking an adult education course in "Mathematics for Parents" in order to keep up with his children.)
>
> Case 1168. A rate clerk for an automobile insurance company. He received a Master's degree in theology a couple of months before he was interviewed. He is looking for a teaching position.
>
> Case 1319. An unemployed man who was until a month before the interview a stock clerk in a record store. He has a bachelor's degree and has decided to return to school to get a teaching credential.

> Case 5202. A man who squirts concrete from a hose in the construction industry. He took courses within the past five years to be a coppersmith in the electrical industry and has held a job as a coppersmith; he is looking for a similar job now.

Further adult education would not meet the needs of men such as these, since they already have the necessary training for the jobs to which they aspire.

Another pattern which emerges from an inspection of these interview transcripts is that of experimentation. Young men may not have a clear idea of what they are or want to become and try out a number of different trades. Sometimes this accounts for apparent inconsistencies:

> Case 3132. A letter carrier who had two years of college and quit to get married. He is now taking a correspondence course in drafting. He started it with the idea of becoming a draftsman but decided he would not like the occupation. Now he says he would like to become a teacher.

In other cases men are unsure of their abilities with regard to certain occupations:

> Case 3115. A man who repairs and sells television sets. Within the past five years he has taken courses to help him on the job he has. He attended college for two or three years but reports that he was a relatively poor student. He attempts to write short stories now and says that he would like to go into the advertising business.
>
> Case 3135. A stock clerk. He evidently failed in his first year of college. He would like to become a salesman now.

For men such as these vocational education is one way of experimenting with possible new careers. They can begin training themselves for a new position without taking the risk of becoming a full-time student or sacrificing the job they have. It also seems likely that adult education may be a way in which men learn to live with a low level of aspiration; adult education, like the junior college, may play a "cooling out" function in American society (18).

These patterns account for only fifteen of the 34 young low-skill workers who are discontented with their present occupations. The remainder fall into no clear categories. There are, among others, some poorly educated unskilled workers who aspire to semi-skilled jobs, some better educated clerical workers who want different clerical jobs, and a clerical worker who wants to become a golf pro. Although they may sometimes be aware of opportunities in adult education, these men generally feel that courses would not meet their needs or are not motivated to make the required effort.

Professional and managerial workers who take courses to assist in getting a different job. There were five such workers:

> Case 1136. A blind man who teaches business methods for the state government. He has an L. L. B. and was taking courses to assist in passing his bar examination. His responses were inconsistent: to one question, he said the course was to assist in getting a new job, to another question he said the course was "to help me in my employment." He indicated that he did not wish to change occupations.
>
> Case 1001. A sixth grade teacher who is working for a Master's degree in education during his spare time. He says he wishes to retain his occupation but that his studies are pursued to help him get a new job; it is possible that he wishes to remain in education at a supervisory level.
>
> Case 1029. This man was probably classified as a "manager" erroneously. While he supervises 45 others, they are adolescent boys who deliver an Oakland newspaper. He is working for a degree in forestry, an occupation he hopes to pursue.
>
> Case 1243. The head planner and estimator at a naval repair yard. In the Community Survey he was classified as taking a course to help get a new job, but in the more intensive Matched Sample Survey he said he had never had any courses in adult education and did not want to change jobs.

Case 1035. A chemist for an oil company who was taking courses to help him on the job he had. Evidently the IBM card was punched erroneously (19).

It is clear that each of the above cases is only an apparent exception to the generalization that highly skilled workers are unlikely to take courses leading to a different occupation. After having invested considerable time, effort, and other resources to obtain the skills required for their occupations, they are unlikely to change their careers in midstream.

Summary: Vocational Education As A Rational Adaptation to the Situation

The preceding analysis can be summarized by the following two propositions: (a) Men will take courses to help them on their jobs if, and only if, the nature of the job requires formal training. A high skill level of a man's job is a necessary and sufficient condition for his taking courses to aid his job performance. (b) Men will take courses to assist in getting a better job only if their present jobs are of low status and they wish to leave them. Being discontented with a low status job is a necessary but not sufficient condition for taking courses to obtain a better job. Most of the apparent exceptions to these two generalizations are equivocal (20).

The generalizations support the idea that participation in vocational education is a rational response to occupational situations. If a man holds a supervisory position, has a good chance for promotion, and possesses the complex knowledge and skills required by his position, he will take courses to maintain himself in his work. If a man's current promotion chances are poor, and he desires to move into another occupation, he is likely to take courses to meet the requirements of that occupation; this is especially true if the job to which he aspires demands a high level of technical skill.

Thus, vocational education can be considered a rational investment made to acquire certain benefits. It is an investment of time and money, but perhaps even more important, of self-esteem. Educational institutions evaluate men, especially when they accredit them for specific occupations. There is therefore always the risk that participants will discover their abilities are not what they thought them to be. Many men will shrink from making such an investment, but whether they do or not will depend on the possible benefits they feel they might gain. Thus, a kind of rational decision-making is involved (21).

Vocational education seems to be quite different from other types of adult education in this regard, as we have shown in preceding chapters and will show in the following. In other areas of life, education is more directly linked with basic values or with the social environments of individuals. In our data we have found only one such element affecting participation in vocational education--alienation from big business tends to reduce participation in the middle occupational strata.

While the rational model accounts for vocational participation among the more skilled blue-collar and white-collar workers, it is not as efficient in explaining the relative lack of participation in the low-skill stratum (clerical and sales, and unskilled manual). The results show that many men at this level do not desire to change their occupation, even though their promotion chances are poor and their jobs are of low status. Other research has shown that work is not of central life interest to such men, and they place their energies in other channels (22). We found, indeed, that these men are more likely to take non-vocational rather than vocational courses.

Chapter 10: Participation and Prior Educational Experiences

"It bothers me that I do not have more education." This plaintive assertion, and the frequency with which it is made, tells us much about the place of education in American society. All men can receive an education and should be bothered if they do not; if men become educated, they are able to occupy positions with high prestige and other rewards; and men who occupy high prestige positions do so rightfully if they have been educated. Lack of education is the cause and justification of low status.

In an unpublished study of a cross-section of the American electorate, Herbert McClosky, Professor of Political Science, University of California, asked people to react to the statement: "It bothers me that I do not have more education." He found that, among men living in cities, 82 per cent of those who had not graduated from high school agreed with the statement, as compared to 75 per cent of the high school graduates, 69 per cent of those with some college, and 45 per cent of the college graduates. He also found that older men were more likely to be bothered by lack of education than younger men, Negroes more than whites (even among those with the same level of education), and men more than women.

In our Matched Sample Survey we also included this item, to which 58 per cent of the respondents agreed. As Table III-43 shows, agreement is highly associated with the level of education that men have reached. However, even among those with advanced degrees about a fifth of the men reported feeling uneasy about not having more education. Being "bothered" testifies to the acceptance of a status system based in large part upon education, and in which educational opportunities are not limited by a man's family position or other ascribed characteristics. If the ability or opportunity to benefit from education were restricted to a fortunate few, others would presumably not be bothered by its absence.

Table III-43

Proportion Bothered by Lack of Education, by Years of Formal Education

Education	
0 to 8 years	74% (43)
9 years	75% (20)
10 or 11 years	75% (79)
High school graduate	62% (208)
1 year of college	73% (41)
2 or 3 years of college	53% (77)
College graduate, 4 year degree	33% (78)
Advanced degrees	21% (42)

Being "bothered" by a lack of education suggests a need for more education, a need which might be satisfied by enrollment in adult education. Table III-44 indicates that those who are "bothered" are somewhat more likely than their more satisfied peers to participate in adult education, but this is only true among those with no college training. The differences are about twice as large for men without college who are under 40 as it is for those over 40; this may reflect the fact that education has become increasingly important during the past generation, or it may merely be a tendency of older men to become resigned to their lack of education. (Table III-44 is on page 122.)

The same differences do not exist among men who have received college training. This suggests that the meaning of being "bothered" differs in the various educational groups. Among those with less education it represents, to some extent, a felt need for more education; among the college educated, it probably represents a rationalization for apparent failure.

In both the college and non-college groups, however, being bothered by lack of education is associated with a desire to participate among men who have not done so during the preceding five years. Table III-45 (page 122) reveals a strong association, although this must be qualified by noting the relatively small number of college men involved. Merely stating a desire to parti-

Table III-44

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Being Bothered by Lack of Education, Prior Education, and Age

Age	Prior education	Bothered by lack of education	Not bothered
20-39	11 years or less	51% (51)	37% (19)
	High school graduate	56% (75)	45% (47)
	1 to 3 years college	62% (52)	63% (24)
	College graduate	69% (26)	64% (50)
40 or more	11 years or less	44% (55)	39% (23)
	High school graduate	55% (53)	49% (35)
	1 to 3 years college	58% (19)	67% (24)
	College graduate	-- (9)	67% (36)
All ages	11 years or less	47% (106)	38% (42)
	High school graduate	55% (128)	46% (82)
	1 to 3 years college	61% (71)	65% (48)
	College graduate	69% (35)	65% (86)

cipate is not necessarily linked with a man's subsequent participation, of course. It does seem reasonable to suppose, however, that those who do not express an intention to take courses within the next few years will be less likely to do so than those who do express such an intention.

Table III-45

Proportion Wanting to Participate in Adult Education, by Being Bothered by Lack of Education, and Prior Education (Only Includes Those Who Have Not Participated During the Last Five Years)

Prior Education	Bothered by lack of education	Not bothered
High school graduate or less	69% (86)	25% (87)
Some college or more	100%* (16)	73% (26)

Q: "If you had the time do you think you would want to take some courses during your free time now or in the next few years?"

*Percentages based on fewer than 20 cases are especially unreliable.

Being bothered by one's lack of education may be a rationalization for apparent failure as well as a felt need for further education. In a society like the United States, where higher status is held up as a prize in a contest in which everyone should participate, it becomes necessary to provide men who are unsuccessful with justifications for their fates. In a country like England, where higher status is viewed as the privilege of a carefully selected few, those in lower statuses have less need for such justification; after the eleven plus examination, relatively unsuccessful persons are not expected and do not expect to aspire as high or achieve as much (1). Hence, in England it is reasonable to believe that fewer working class men would say they are "bothered" by lack of education. In the United States, accounting for low status by one's failure to get enough "education" is a common and fairly effective rationalization; the "circumstances" leading to lack of education need not call into question the abilities of the man himself.

A number of correlations suggest that the preceding interpretation applies at least in some cases. For example, those who report having done poorly in school are also more likely to report being bothered by lack of education (see Table III-46, page 123). Students who perform well are less likely to have their formal education stopped against their wills and therefore are less likely to be bothered by lack of education. However, Table III-46, in conjunction with Table III-47, also suggests that being "bothered" can be a rationalization. Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following two statements:

Table III-46

Proportion Bothered by Lack of Education, by Prior School Performance and Prior Education

	Prior School Performance		
Prior education	Above average	About average	Below average
High school or less	61% (75)	67% (250)	82% (22)
Some college or more	36% (110)	45% (111)	80%*(15)

Q: "Looking back to when you were in school, how well did you usually do?"
*Percentages based on fewer than 20 cases are especially unreliable.

> The real difference between people who succeed and those who don't is that the successful people have had the breaks. Getting to the top is more a matter of luck than of ability.
>
> I feel that I have been successful in life.

Table III-47 shows that men who feel unsuccessful, and men who feel that success is more a matter of luck than of ability, are also more apt to be bothered by their own lack of education. Men who feel unsuccessful may devalue the importance of ability, but they do not devalue the importance of education for themselves. Both their lack of education and their "bad breaks" can justify their lack of success, at least in their own minds. In fact, their relative lack of education may be the most important "bad break" in their lives.

Table III-47

Proportion Bothered by Lack of Education, by Feelings of Success, Belief that Success is a Matter of Luck, and Prior Education

	Prior Education	
	High school or less	Some college or more
Feel they have been successful	64% (246)	40% (166)
Feel they have not been successful	75% (103)	55% (71)
Feel success a matter of luck	70% (64)	50% (20)
Feel success a matter of ability	66% (285)	44% (218)

We shall not pursue the matter of educational values further in this report, for the following reasons. Examination of the interview schedule (Appendix 4) will show that we asked many questions in an attempt to measure different facets of our respondents' values and attitudes toward education. One of our major hypotheses was that we could discover a general tendency to place a high value on education (or certain aspects of education, such as liberal arts or vocational education), a tendency which would be associated with participation in adult education for men in a wide variety of social positions. No such general tendency was discovered. A factor analysis of the relevant items failed to reveal any statistically important or theoretically meaningful general factors; most of the correlations among these items were very low. (See summary of the factor analysis in Appendix 3.)

Similarly, most of these items failed to discriminate very strongly between participants and non-participants in adult education. For example, while men who agreed that "It is absolutely necessary to have a college education to be a success today" were more likely to participate than those who disagreed, the difference was small; similarly, responses to this question were only slightly correlated with responses to the question, "It bothers me that I do not have more education." These results may have occurred because the questions had different meanings for men in different positions--just as we have suggested that the question "It bothers me that I do not have more education" has a variety of meanings. This lack of specificity in meaning will naturally reduce the intercorrelations of different items and their ability to discriminate between participants and non-participants. However, we feel that more is involved than this: it seems more likely that there is no general tendency to place a high value on education for oneself, and therefore no such general tendency can account for participation in adult education. Our social-psychological hypotheses may be rejected, and social background and present social position must be accepted as the chief determinants of participation.

Success in School, Liking School, and Participation

Those who have received little formal education have relatively low rates of participation in adult education, although their needs for further education are, in a sense, relatively great. To see whether this might be the result of their school experiences, we investigated the possible effects of prior school performance and feelings about school. There is a slight correlation between the level of education of our respondents and the degree to which they liked school; 16 per cent of those who had not graduated from high school disliked school as compared to 4 per cent of the college graduates. Between these extremes, however, the relation is irregular.

Table III-48 indicates that those who liked school very much are more likely than others to participate in adult education. Among the men who did not graduate from high school, the participation rate does not differ for men who liked school very much and those who liked it only a little, but both of these types have higher rates than those who disliked school altogether. Thus, at least part of the low participation rate of the less educated is due to the dislike for schooling which they acquired during their formal educational training. (It should be noted, however, that among men who liked school very much, the relation between level of education and participation in adult education remains strong.)

Table III-48

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Prior Education and Enjoyment of Prior Education

Prior education	Attitude Toward Prior Schooling Liked very much	 Liked it a little	 Disliked it
11 years or less	48% (73)	48% (48)	33% (24)
High school graduate	59% (103)	44% (90)	* (16)
1 to 3 years college	69% (59)	58% (45)	* (15)
College graduate	71% (92)	54% (24)	* (5)

Q: "How well did you like school?"

*Too few cases for reliable percentages. (Of the 36 men who had graduated from high school or gone further and disliked school, 47 per cent participated.)

Liking school is strongly associated with performance. Among those who reported that their work had been better than average, 76 per cent stated that they had liked school very much; among those who remembered doing average work, this figure drops to 48 per cent; and among those who did below average work, only 21 per cent stated that they had liked school very much. Despite this high correlation, and despite the correlation between liking school and participating in adult education, there is no apparent association between our indicator of school performance and participation in adult education (see Table III-49). This does not prove that there is no correlation between actual performance in school--as it might be measured by grades, for example--and later participation in adult education, for our indicator of performance is relatively crude. We asked respondents to rate themselves compared with other students as above average, about average, or somewhat below average. Thus, those who left school at different grades cannot be compared, since they probably used different reference points--the college educated may have compared themselves with other college students, while those with an elementary school education could only compare themselves with other elementary students. In any case, these ratings are highly suspect, because 93 per cent of our respondents stated that their work had been average or above. Nevertheless, the conclusion that perceived success or failure has no strong influence on participation in adult education is given support by these data.

Table III-49

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Prior Education and Perceived Performance

Prior education	Prior School Performance		
	Better than average	About average	Below average
11 years or less	43% (23)	48% (100)	38% (21)
High school graduate	53% (53)	52% (153)	* (3)
1 to 3 years college	67% (33)	61% (74)	* (11)
College graduate	67% (78)	68% (38)	* (4)

Q: "Looking back to when you were in school, how well did you usually do?"
*Too few cases for reliable percentages. Of the 39 men who reported their performance as below average, 49 per cent had participated during the preceding year.

Other aspects of prior education have little effect on participation in adult education. For example, whether a man pursued a vocational (manual or business arts) or a college preparatory curriculum while in high school had little relevance for later participation in adult education, after level of education was controlled. While those who took a non-vocational curriculum were much more likely to continue to college than those who took a vocational course (59 per cent of the former attended college as against 19 per cent of the latter), once attendance in college is taken into account there is no appreciable difference in adult education participation between those who took the different high school curricula.

With regard to type of high school curriculum, then, the kinds of experiences which lead a high school graduate to enter college are not the same as the experiences which lead adults to take courses in their leisure time (2). The same appears to be true with regard to perceived performance in school; while this has a strong effect on entry into colleges, we have shown that it has a relatively small effect on participation in adult education (3). Many other parallel arguments can be made about the factors which influence entry into college and participation in adult education, and they have been presented in other sections of this report. One especially important factor which influences entry into college is the social class of a person's family of origin--his father's socio-economic status (4). We shall next consider whether this also influences participation in adult education, or whether the social-class influences on participation are limited to a man's own occupation and education.

The Educationally Privileged and Underprivileged

Those who are relatively unsuccessful often attribute this to "bad luck"--in particular, the bad luck not to have received enough education. It is true that educational opportunities are not equally distributed; accidents of birth and early life limit a man's chances to receive an education. As Table III-50 indicates, most men interviewed in the Matched Sample Survey would have liked to continue their education. The proportions who would have liked to continue are especially high among those who have not attended high school and those who have been within a year or two of college graduation. (Table III-50 is on page 126.)

One of the most important historical rationales for adult education has been the idea that it offered those deprived of an education when young an opportunity to continue their education later (5). The rationale is still important: those who would have liked to continue often do, as Table III-51 shows (page 126). As educational levels have become higher, even college graduates may feel "deprived" and participate as adults to continue their education.

Although a man with a Master's degree may have had to stop his education before he would have liked to, and although he may participate in adult education to compensate for that of which he was deprived, it would be inappropriate to consider him "deprived" in the same sense as a

Table III-50

Proportion Who Would Have Liked to Continue in School, by Level of Prior Education

Prior education	
9 years or less	78% (67)
10 or 11 years	50% (80)
High school graduate	53% (208)
1 year of college	54% (41)
2 or 3 years college	62% (78)
4 year college degree	29% (78)
Advanced degree	47% (40)

Q: "Were you glad to get out of school when you did, or would you have liked to continue in school or college?"

Mississippi Negro with a sixth grade education. In the remainder of this chapter we will focus upon the really deprived men, those 147 men in the Matched Sample Survey who did not graduate from high school, and especially the 67 who did not even attend high school. Who are the deprived, and which of them participate in adult education?

Table III-51

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Prior Education and Wishing Prior Schooling Had Continued

	Attitude Toward Schooling	
Prior education	Those glad to get out of school	Those who would have liked to continue
9 years of less	23%* (13)	40% (52)
10 or 11 years	49% (39)	57% (40)
High school graduate	46% (98)	58% (110)
1 year of college	47%* (17)	50% (22)
2 or 3 years college	67% (30)	69% (48)
4 year college degree	60% (55)	74% (23)
Advanced degrees	67% (21)	74%* (19)

*Percentages based on fewer than 20 cases are especially unreliable.

First, the extremely deprived tend to be older; those who have not attended high school at all are a rapidly diminishing group in American society. While the design of the Matched Sample Survey reduced the correlation between age and prior education, some differences remain. Among those with nine years or less of school, 57 per cent are over 45, while for the remainder of the sample only 25 per cent are that old. This age difference must be kept in mind in the following analysis, since it cannot be statistically controlled because of the small number of cases. Age and other variables, such as father's occupation and birthplace, are correlated themselves, and this influences the association of these variables with prior education and participation in adult education.

One of the most important determinants of the amount of education a man receives is the social class of his family while he is a child. Table III-52 shows that this is important for the men in our sample, when father's occupation is used as an indicator of social class of origin. (Table III-52 is on page 127.) Men with college degrees are more than six times as likely to have had fathers in white collar occupations than men who did not go beyond the 9th grade. Among the latter group, two thirds come from farm families or from families of semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers. It is also important to note that the amount of college education received is highly correlated with parental occupation; men from lower status families in this sample were more likely to drop out of college before completion than men from higher status families.

Table III-52

Prior Education By Father's Occupation

	Father's Occupation					
Prior education	White collar	Foremen & skilled	Lower manual	Farm	Other	Total
9 years or less	9%	16	31	37	7	100% (67)
10 or 11 years	24%	16	30	20	10	100% (80)
High school graduate	29%	25	30	10	6	100% (208)
1 year college	39%	24	24	7	6	100% (41)
2 or 3 years college	49%	12	24	5	10	100% (78)
4 year college degree	64%	14	11	6	5	100% (79)
Advanced degrees	62%	10	12	10	6	100% (42)

Despite this strong correlation, there is no association between father's occupation and son's participation in adult education (see the totals column in Table III-53). Social class position in America is initially ascribed, largely through the occupation of one's father, but later is an achieved status. The results show that the achieved component is considerably more important in adult education than the ascribed component (6).

Table III-53

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Father's Occupation and Prior Education

	Father's Occupation		
Level of Prior Education	White collar	Manual	Farm
11 years of less	52% (25)	45% (69)	44% (41)
High school graduate	51% (61)	50% (121)	62% (21)
1 to 3 years college	61% (54)	78% (55)	* (7)
College graduates	64% (77)	55% (29)	* (9)
Total	58% (217)	54% (264)	55% (78)

*Too few cases for stable percentages.

A more important ascribed status--more important since there is no escape from it--is race. Race is very highly associated with level of prior education in America, including Oakland. In the Community Survey, reported above, Negroes constituted 31 per cent of those who did not graduate from high school, 18 per cent of the high school graduates, and 14 per cent of those who attended college. Almost half of all those who did not graduate from high school were Negroes. We also showed that Negroes who were poorly educated were more likely than poorly educated whites to participate in adult education.

Almost all of these poorly educated Negroes are Southern born and educated. Of the 105 Negroes interviewed in the Matched Sample Survey, 86 per cent had been born in the South. Southern education for Negroes is far inferior to the education provided for others in the South or in other parts of the nation, so that the indicator of "years of full time schooling" does not completely reveal the handicap of the Negro immigrants to Oakland (7). Negroes, then, constitute the most recent wave of poorly educated immigrants to the San Francisco Bay Region. The need for adult education to remedy educational deficiencies which became so apparent in the first two decades of the century, when immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe was high, has by no means disappeared (8). The ill-educated have arrived and will continue to do so. The fact that they are now Negro does not mean that it is harder to induce them to participate in adult education; if anything, it is probably easier.

Negroes are not the only ones who have been deprived of adequate education in the South. Whites who were born in the South and have come to Oakland are even more likely to have been deprived of a high school education than Negroes, although the quality of education they received was probably superior. The data are presented in Table III-54 (page 128).

Table III-54

Level of Prior Education By Race and Place of Birth

NEGROES
Place of Birth

Level of education	Foreign	Southern U. S.	All other U. S.
9 years or less	-	17%	6%
10 or 11 years	-	22	12
High school graduate	-	34	41
1 year of college	-	10	6
2 or 3 years college	-	11	12
4 year college degree	-	5	12
Advanced degrees	-	1	12
Total		100%	100%
	(0)	(105)	(17)

WHITES
Place of Birth

Level of education	Foreign*	Southern U. S.	California	All other U. S.
9 years of less	20%	23%	7%	8%
10 or 11 years	12	23	13	7
High school graduate	30	26	37	36
1 year of college	4	3	8	5
2 or 3 years college	9	9	15	14
4 year college degree	23	6	14	16
Advanced degrees	0	11	5	13
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(56)	(35)	(217)	(164)

*Foreign levels of education are not always comparable to American. It seems likely that, e.g., English grammar school graduates are downgraded and English "secondary modern school" graduates upgraded by being classed as "high school graduates."

Immigrants to Oakland from the South or foreign countries, either Negro or white, are more likely to be deprived of high school than those who were born in California or other parts of the United States. Immigrants from other parts of the United States than the South were more likely to have college degrees; i.e., the highly educated appear to be more mobile. There is essentially no difference in the distributions of education for Negroes and whites once place of birth is taken into account.

Except for the college-educated, men born in the South are more likely to participate in adult education than those born in other parts of the United States. This is shown in Table III-55.

Table III-55

Proportion Participating in Adult Education, by Prior Education and Place of Birth

	Birthplace*	
Level of prior education	Southern U. S.	Other U. S.
9 years or less	45% (26)	30% (30)
10 or 11 years	60% (30)	48% (42)
High school graduate	58% (45)	50% (146)
Some college or more	64% (39)	67% (160)

*Too few foreign-born to control for level of education; of 55 foreign-born men, 49 per cent had participated within the past year.

These differences are rather large, especially among those with less than a high school education where the Southern-born participation rate is 12 to 15 percentage points higher than the rate of men born in other areas. They probably arise because of differences in the educational opportunities in different regions. In the South, where opportunities are low, students are likely to be forced to quit school before they would like to. In states like California, on the other hand, low levels of education are more apt to be associated with poor school performance or hostility toward school.

This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Southern-born are much less likely than others to say they were glad to get out of school when they did (see Table III-56). Partly these results reflect the higher educational aspirations of Negroes, since most of the Southern-born are Negro and Negroes have higher educational aspirations. The results also represent the sins of omission of Southern education: educational needs are unmet and are intense. To some (perhaps small) extent, California meets these needs through its program of adult education.

Table III-56

Proportion Who Wished to Continue Their Education, by Prior Education and Place of Birth

Prior education	Birthplace		
	Southern U. S.	Other U. S.	Outside U. S.
9 years or less	92% (26)	77% (30)	71% (34)
10 or 11 years	60% (30)	40% (42)	
High school graduate	67% (45)	46% (147)	
Some college or more	76% (38)	46% (161)	40% (20)

Q: "Were you glad to get out of school when you did, or would you have liked to continue in school or college?"

Summary

In this chapter we have examined the Matched Sample Survey results to see whether educational attitudes and experiences influence participation in adult education. Only a few of the items were found to be relevant to participation. Having liked school during one's student days and having wanted to continue schooling were positively associated with participation. However, school performance is not associated with participation, even though the better students were more apt to like school. Finally, being "bothered" by a lack of education is strongly related to wishing to participate in adult education, but only slightly related to actual participation. A felt lack of education, it was found, only motivates a few to continue their education as adults, and is used by many as a rationalization for their relative lack of success in adult life. In sum, no general tendency to place a high value on education was found, and many of the questions dealing with prior school experiences or present educational attitudes were not associated, either positively or negatively, with adult education participation.

Finally, it was discovered that many of the factors which lead a student to enter college upon graduation from high school do not affect subsequent participation in adult education. The career lines leading to college and to adult education are quite different. Entrance into college depends greatly on ascribed status characteristics, such as one's parents' socio-economic position, and on school experiences, such as good performance in school subjects and enrollment in the college preparatory curriculum. None of these apparently affect participation in adult education when level of formal education is controlled. Rather, the important factors in adult participation are the achieved components of social status--one's own socio-economic position and the styles of life associated with that position.

One further finding was that, among the recent migration into the Oakland area, the Southern-born are more likely than others to participate in adult education. Since most of these are Negroes, this finding supports the relatively high Negro participation rate reported in Part II of this monograph.

Chapter 11: Knowledge About and Evaluation of Adult Education

Whatever their needs, men will not participate in adult education unless they discover that opportunities for further training exist. In the first part of this chapter we shall discuss how much Oakland men know about offerings in adult education, and their sources of information.

Despite the fact that Oakland has many agencies offering programs for adults, many men are unaware of them. We asked each respondent to name the places in Oakland where "you could attend classes or take courses in your free time if you wanted to." Table III-57 shows that many non-participants, especially in the lower socio-economic strata, were unable to name any such agencies. Participants were better able to name agencies, although even some of them (those who participated outside the Oakland area) were unable to name any.

Table III-57

Proportion Who Do Not Know of Adult Education Opportunities, by Occupation and Adult Education Participation

	Experience in adult education		
Occupation	Never participated	Participated more than 5 years ago, or only in Sunday School, or participant on Community Survey only*	Participated within past five years
Professional or managerial	** (12)	8% (36)	4% (95)
Small business, clerical, or sales	11% (44)	4% (53)	6% (72)
Foremen or skilled workers	37% (24)	18% (39)	12% (57)
Other manual and service workers	43% (47)	16% (50)	2% (60)

*This category consists of 73 men who took courses more than 5 years ago, 6 men who participate only in Sunday School, and 99 men who were classified as participants in the Community Survey but not in the Matched Sample Survey. On the last group, see Appendix 1.

**Too few cases to compute meaningful percentages.

Persons in the lower strata, who often need additional education and who often say they would like to participate in adult education (55 per cent of the lower manual workers expressed such a desire), are frequently unaware of existing opportunities. How can this ignorance be accounted for? To answer this question we shall examine the ways in which current participants became informed about their courses.

Sources of Information about Courses Taken

Men who had taken courses within the past five years were presented a checklist showing various possible sources of information and were asked by which means they had become informed about their courses. Table III-58 summarizes the responses given. The most common source of information was one of the numerous mass media, which accounted for 37 per cent of participation. Next most frequently mentioned were friends, neighbors, and personal acquaintances (22 per cent), and people at work (19 per cent). A wide variety of other sources were mentioned, but these could not be reasonably combined with the above categories (1). (Table III-58 is on page 131.)

The various sources of information are not equally effective in all social classes, as Table III-59 indicates. The impersonal sources of information--the mass media--are much more

Table III-58

Sources of Information About Courses for Those Participating Within the Past Five Years

Sources of Information		Proportion of Participants
Mass Media		37%
Newspapers or magazines	11%	
Pamphlet or brochure seen somewhere	11	
Announcement received in mail	10	
Poster display in community	4	
Radio or television	1	
Personal Contact		22
Neighbors or friends	13	
Someone who had taken a course before	9	
Work Contact		19
Employer or supervisor at work	16	
Other contacts at work	3	
Other and Unclassifiable		31
Letter brought home by school child	2	
Former teacher or counselor at school	2	
Unclassifiable	27	
Total		109%* (207)

*The column totals to more than 100 per cent because some participants mentioned more than one source.

frequently used by white-collar than by blue-collar workers. The proportion using impersonal sources decends steadily as one moves down the occupational hierarchy. The use of personal contacts and work contacts has a somewhat different pattern. Within each of the two major occupational hierarchies (blue-collar and white-collar), the less skilled are more likely to use personal contacts as their source of information, while the more skilled are more likely to use their work contacts. This is in agreement with the findings reported in other parts of this monograph, namely, that highly skilled workers were more oriented to their present place of employment than were low-skill workers.

Table III-59

Sources of Information About Courses for Those Participating Within the Past Five Years, by Occupation

	Current Occupation			
Sources of Information*	Professional & Managerial	Other White Collar	Foremen & Skilled	Other Manual & Service
Mass media	52%	47%	36%	33%
Personal contact	18	34	24	43
Work contact	30	19	40	24
Total	100% (47)	100% (39)	100% (30)	100% (26)

*For the detailed sources under each heading, see Table III-58. The "other and unclassifiable" category has been omitted here because of its ambiguous nature. Only the first source of information volunteered by the respondent is included, since it is apt to be most salient. A second source was mentioned by only four per cent of the participants.

The data in Table III-59 seem to justify the frequent complaint heard in many types of public service agencies that they cannot "reach" persons in the lower strata. Men in low-skill positions are especially dependent on personal sources for information, and these are exactly the sources which are usually not under the control of agencies.

Social Contacts With Participants

Not only do people discover adult education agencies through their friends, they also tend to participate in programs together with their friends. Adult education takes place in a network of interpersonal relations.

This, too, varies with social class. Manual workers are less likely than white-collar workers to have as classmates persons they knew before taking the class, as is shown in Table III-60. This naturally follows from the fact that rates of participation are lower in the manual strata. However, the fact that lower strata participants are less apt to be in classes with their friends reduces the social rewards they obtain from participation, and probably leads to a lessened interest and a higher drop-out rate (2).

Table III-60

Proportion Who Knew Members of Their Class Prior to Enrollment, by Occupation

Occupation	
Upper white collar	64% (69)
Lower white collar	43% (51)
Upper manual	36% (39)
Lower manual	33% (45)

Men in the lower strata are also much less likely to have friends who participate themselves, as is shown in Table III-61. Among participants, occupation has no regular correlation with having friends who participate, but among non-participants there is a high correlation. More than twice the upper white-collar men have participant friends than men in the lower manual occupations. The latter, who are especially dependent upon personal ties to find out about adult education, are less likely than others to have friends who are good informants on the subject.

Table III-61

Proportion Having Friends Who Participate in Adult Education, by Participation and Occupation

	Participation in Adult Education	
Occupation	Participants during last 5 years	Non-participants during last 5 years
Upper white collar	79% (124)	62% (21)
Lower white collar	57% (120)	40% (55)
Upper manual	70% (87)	29% (35)
Lower manual	57% (90)	30% (69)

In the preceding pages we have shown that men in the lower occupational strata are more likely than others to be ignorant of educational opportunities open to them. We have explained this in part by showing that they are more likely to find out about adult education through their friends, but are less apt to have friends who are knowledgeable about adult education. We shall show below that, in addition to being relatively ignorant of opportunities, the men in the lower strata also tend to have many misconceptions about adult courses.

Reported Reasons for Non-Participation

Non-participants may be unaware that educational opportunities exist for them or may not be conscious that they have unmet educational needs; hence, they will find it difficult to justify their non-participation. We attempted to get around this problem by asking the following indirect question:

> Surveys have shown that very few people take courses or classes in their free time. Here are a few reasons people have given for not taking courses. Please read each statement and tell me whether or not it applies to you.

Responses to nine such statements, cross-classified by age and occupation, are shown in Table III-62.

The most frequently cited reason for non-participation was that the respondent was "too busy"; 61 per cent of the non-participants reported that this statement applied to them. This is correlated with age and occupation in the ways we would expect it to be if it were in fact a valid reason. Young men and white-collar workers are more likely than old men and manual workers to be engaged in other activities which compete with further education. Nevertheless, given the findings presented in Chapter 8, we can be skeptical of the validity of these responses. As was shown there, men who are "busy" and active in many activities are also more apt than inactive men to participate in adult education.

Table III-62

Proportion Giving Various Reasons for Not Participating in Adult Education, by Age and Occupation

	Men 20-39		Men 40-59		
Reasons for Non-Participation	White Collar	Manual & Service	White Collar	Manual & Service	Total
I'm too busy with other things and just don't have the time	72%	51%	63%	44%	61%
I'm usually too tired at night to go out to classes	19%	29%	53%	49%	40%
I'm not the bookish type	17%	38%	30%	40%	31%
I'm probably too old to go back to school	3%	9%	25%	49%	26%
I couldn't afford the money it would probably cost	25%	31%	15%	29%	25%
I can learn what I need to know without going to classes	31%	15%	10%	22%	19%
The things I have heard about don't sound very interesting	17%	17%	13%	20%	17%
I'd feel kind of childish going out to classes at night	0%	11%	8%	14%	9%
My family would probably object to my spending time in classes and studying	6%	6%	0%	7%	5%
Number of respondents*	(36)	(36)	(40)	(69)	(186)

*Columns do not total to 100 per cent because each respondent could agree with more than one of the statements. The table includes all respondents who never participated in adult education during their lifetime.

The next most frequently cited response is being "too tired." This is highly correlated with age, as one might expect; men 40-59 were twice as likely to say this as men under 40. Among the latter, manual workers were more apt than white collar workers to report being too tired. Although men in white collar jobs usually work longer hours than manual workers, their work is probably not as physically arduous (3).

As one would expect, older men more frequently reported being "too old to go back to school," but the older manual workers agreed with this much more frequently than the older white collar men. Similarly, a higher proportion of manual than white collar workers agreed that they would "feel kind of childish" going to evening classes, and young manual workers were even more likely to agree with this than old white collar workers (4). Thus, manual workers tend more than others to define education as something for children and young adults, and not for themselves. In addition, manual workers may feel "too old" to go back to school because they have less education;

many of them would probably have to commence their education at high school or elementary school levels, and would therefore have to study for long periods of time before their further education produced any significant changes in their lives (5).

That a considerable number of non-participants are misinformed about adult education is indicated by the fact that a fourth of them felt they could not afford the money it would cost. There are no fees for the adult programs in the Oakland Junior College, and fees for adult high school courses are only a few dollars per semester. Again, a higher proportion of manual than white collar workers did not participate because of the expected cost, although more than a fifth of the white collar men also gave this reason for non-participation.

Manual workers were more apt than white collar workers to say that they are not "bookish" types. Older manual workers were also more likely than older white collar men to assert that they could learn what theyneeded to know without attending classes; this relation is reversed, however, among the young. A related item, that "the things I have heard about don't sound very interesting," is not highly associated with social class, although a sixth of the non-participants say it applies to them.

Only five per cent of the non-participants feel their families would object to their taking courses. In this respect they resemble the participants, of whom only seven per cent reported opposition by their families to their enrollment in courses.

Some of the statements with which non-participants agreed were valid reasons, others were mere rationalizations or alibis. Despite the obstacles which non-participants envisioned, two-thirds of them asserted that they would like to take a course during their free time "if they had the time." The variety among non-participants is illustrated in the following summaries from interviews:

> Case 2313. This man of 41 supervises 36 workers in a lumberyard. He enjoys his work and says that he spends more than 90 hours per week at it (counting the work he brings home with him). He also belongs to six voluntary associations, attends about eight meetings a month, and participates actively in sports and outdoor activities. He reports that he is too busy with other things and too tired at night to attend classes.
>
> Case 2407. This Massachusetts born and educated Negro is a social worker. He works 56 hours per week, frequently in the evenings. He studies at home for his job, but also participates in other voluntary associations. He says he is too busy to attend classes, although he would like to if he had time.
>
> Case 5216. This man is 54 years old and is a milkdriver. He has never been married and engages in few social activities. He watches TV more than 30 hours per week, belongs only to a union, and although a Catholic seldom attends church. He does not read books or magazines. He says he does not take courses because he is not the bookish type and is usually too tired at night to attend classes.
>
> Case 5210. This Negro went through the fifth grade in Mississippi before coming to the Bay Area 12 years ago. The interviewer notes that he can hardly read, so she had to read the cards to him. (In general, problems of reliability are especially acute for men with this little education.) He repairs truck tires but would like to be a mechanic. Although he is only 33, he feels to old to go back to school and says that he would feel kind of childish doing so.
>
> Case 5406. This is a Louisiana born and educated Negro who came to the Bay Area during World War II. His education stopped in the fifth grade. He is a longshoreman and attends union meetings, and also participates actively in the affairs of his church. He asserts that he is too old to go back to school, is not the bookish type, is usually too tired at night to go out to classes, and is busy with other things and does not have the time. (He also usually works at night.)

These cases were purposely selected to represent a wide range of non-participants. They help illustrate that some highly educated individuals, who place a high value on education, do not participate because of competing activities even though they are aware of the available opportunities. At the other extreme are men objectively in need of education who are unaware of opportunities and feel unable to meet the challenges which education might offer. They may be socially isolated, such as the milkdriver (case 5216), or they are so seriously deprived educationally (cases 5210 and 5406) that further education would mean studying at a level with 10 year olds. It is no surprise that they might feel childish going back to school.

Participants Evaluate Their Courses

Overt rebellion is common in secondary education, where students are often coerced to remain in a situation in which they are labelled immature and unsuccessful (6). One would expect lower levels of dissatisfaction with adult education, since the student who does not like his program can easily escape it. This expectation is not born out by the data, as shown in Table III-63. Although levels of satisfaction with adult education are high, they are no higher than satisfaction with prior, full-time schooling.

Table III-63

Satisfaction With Adult Education Courses and With Prior Schooling

Adult Education Courses		Prior Schooling	
Very satisfied	56%	Liked school very much	55%
Somewhat satisfied	34	Liked it a little	35
Somewhat dissatisfied	8	Disliked it somewhat	7
Very dissatisfied	2	Disliked it very much	3
Totals	100% (418)*		100% (599)

Q: "All told, how satisfied have you been with the courses you have taken?"
Q: "How well did you like school?"
* Includes all those who ever participated in adult education.

Those who report having been satisfied by their previous schooling are also more likely than the dissatisfied to report satisfaction with adult education. This is indicated by Table III-64, where level of education is also taken into account. In addition, the table shows that a large proportion (42 per cent) of those who disliked school are very satisfied with adult education. Finally, the college educated are least likely to be satisfied with their current courses, regardless of how they felt about their prior schooling. We shall discuss this finding in more detail below.

Table III-64

Proportion Very Satisfied With Adult Education, by Satisfaction With Prior Education and Level of Prior Education

Satisfaction with Prior Education	Level of Education: High School Grad. or Less	Level of Education: Some College or more	Total
Liked school very much	69% (110)	59% (123)	64% (233)
Liked school a little	51% (84)	46% (57)	49% (142)
Disliked school	44% (27)	38% (16)	42% (43)

A student's satisfaction with education depends, at least in part, on how well he perceives himself to be doing. Recent participants were asked, "How are you as a student now compared to the time when you were younger and a full-time student?" Those who report being better, which is true of the majority, are more apt than others to be very satisfied with their adult education. This is shown in Table III-65 (page 136).

On the other hand, those who report starting their present course knowing less than their classmates are most likely to be very satisfied with their courses. Evidently, the challenge of a course may produce satisfaction with it. This is also suggested by the finding that students are more apt to be satisfied with programs that require homework (the vast majority of courses

Table III-65

Satisfaction With Adult Education, by Current Ability As Compared to Ability During Prior Schooling

Satisfaction with Adult Education	Comparisons of Ability		
	Better Now	Same	Better Before
Very satisfied	59%	56%	40%
Somewhat satisfied	31	39	51
Dissatisfied	10	5	9
Total	100% (121)	100% (46)	100% (35)

do require it) than with programs that do not. Similarly, those who have taken courses for credit and certificates are slightly more likely to be satisfied than those who have not.

Levels of reported satisfaction differ considerably according to the sponsorship of the courses being evaluated. In particular, junior colleges and universities have relatively lower proportions of students who are very satisfied and higher proportions who are dissatisfied. Since these organizations tend to recruit the better educated, and since the better educated are less apt to be very satisfied with their courses, it might be thought that the composition of the student body rather than their reactions to courses produces the differences. This does not appear to be the case, as is shown in Table III-66. Students tend to express less satisfaction with junior college and university courses, whatever their prior level of education. The table also permits us to reject (subject to the qualification that the number of cases is small) the hypothesis that students are more likely to be satisfied when they participate in agencies which "match" the level of education they have already received. No such tendency appears.

Table III-66

Proportion Very Satisfied With Adult Education, by Sponsoring Agency and Level of Prior Education

Sponsor of Most Recent Course	Level of Education	
	High School Grad. Or Less	Some College Or More
High school	72% (29)	50% (14)
Junior college or university	43% (28)	38% (47)
All other sponsors	66% (38)	61% (46)

Given the demonstrated importance of prior education and of sponsorship, further statistical analysis of satisfaction becomes difficult because of the small number of cases. Some of the other relations found are listed below, but any of them might be a mere artifact of the impact of education and sponsorship. (a) No simple association was discovered between the payment of fees and degree of satisfaction. Students who paid some, but small, fees were most highly satisfied, but the differences are generally negligible. (b) Knowing classmates before taking a course has little relation to student satisfaction. (c) Satisfaction is only slightly correlated with the number of courses taken during the preceding five years. This suggests that there is no necessary connection between the degree of satisfaction and remaining in adult courses. (d) Satisfaction was highest for correspondence courses, next highest for classes, and considerably lower for discussion groups and private lessons.

Specific Sources of Dissatisfaction

Although the vast majority of participants report being satisfied with their courses, most of them remarked on some features which they disliked when asked to do so in a direct question. Many different aspects of adult education were named, and these are summarized in Table III-67.

Table III-67

Sources of Dissatisfaction with Adult Education Courses, Among Those Who Ever Participated

Aspects of instruction		33%
Teacher's performance inadequate	10%	
Level of instruction too low	4	
Level of instruction too high	3	
Other aspects of instruction or combinations of the above	16	
Other complaints		31
Course not practical--did not serve purpose respondent had in mind	7	
Too much work involved in course	2	
Respondent did not have enough time to study	3	
Poor or inadequate equipment or facilities	2	
Would have preferred instructor (among those who had taken correspondence courses)	2	
Fees too high	1	
No degree offered for taking course	0.2	
Physical or geographical inconveniences: parking, travel time, courses offered only in the evening, etc.	4	
Other students unsatisfying	1	
Vague or unclassifiable responses	9	
Nothing disliked about courses		43
Total		106%* (420)

*Some respondents gave reasons in two or more categories.

As the table indicates, most of the complaints dealt with some aspect of instruction. Some of the difficulties mentioned are distinctive in adult education, and some are shared with other forms of education. Adult education is voluntary and is seldom able to induce students to conform to an organized sequence of courses. As a result, teachers and students cannot be assured that students have been prepared correctly (neither too much nor too little) for any course they might enter. The seven per cent who report that the level of instruction was too high or too low, and the additional seven per cent who conplained that their instruction was impractical and did not meet their needs, probably underrepresent the actual amount of dissatisfaction on this score.

A sample of statements by respondents who disliked the "impracticality" of the courses suggest some of the problems faced by the adult educator:

> Case 1116. An engineer took a class offered by the American Society of Metals on the heat treatment of metals. He reports that "it didn't cover the area I was most concerned with. The teacher was concerned with non-ferrous metals and I was more interested in ferrous metals."
>
> Case 2207. The chief engineer of a manufacturing concern took a seminar in the administration of research and development offered by the University of California Extension. He said that he "heard little that was applicable to my particular set of circumstances, and I was able to offer little. The course was pointed at a very large organization, not our company" (which does, however, employ more than 100 persons).
>
> Case 1150. An apprentice plumber reported that the "teacher doesn't know how to teach. The book is obsolete. They don't teach anything up-to-date. It is the apprentice shop committee's fault; they don't allow the teacher to teach the way we want to."
>
> Case 4119. A cabinet maker who finished his apprenticeship training the year before said

that he "was not given enough material that had direct application to work. Some of the texts were not modern enough. There wasn't enough practical application; that is, instructors working with students on wood."

As these responses show, dissatisfaction with the practicality of instruction overlaps dissatisfaction with the teacher or with the organization of courses. In some cases problems might be solved easily, better counseling (or any counseling) or by more elaborate published course descriptions. In other cases, complaints are directed more against the teachers and administrators; for example, a former student of a proprietary radio and television school said, "What they were teaching seemed like it was for a two year old." Problems of teaching competence are perhaps equally shared by all forms of education.

The other sources of dissatisfaction mentioned were rather diverse in nature. A few students (four per cent of all participants) complained that too much work was required or that they did not have enough time to study. These are not criticisms of the instruction as much as reflections of the life situation in which participants found themselves during their enrollment. A few others complained about poor equipment, buildings, or other facilities. Such complaints are more likely to occur in technical subjects where equipment is essential. For example, an engineer who was taking a course in spectroscopy at the University of California complained, "They do not have enough time for me to run the machine. There are too many in the class."

Other participants found access to the schools difficult because of travel time or parking problems. Only four men complained about high fees, only three complained about the behavior of other students, and only one complained about the lack of formal credit. As the relatively large proportion (nine per cent) of vague and unclassifiable remarks indicates, many participants found it difficult to put their feelings of dissatisfaction into words.

Table III-68 shows that there are substantial differences in dissatisfaction between the socio-economic strata. As some of the previous tables have shown, the white collar participants are more apt to report some point of dissatisfaction than are blue collar participants. Even among those with complaints, however, the various occupation strata tend to be dissatisfied about different features of their courses. The most striking pattern is that upper white collar workers are almost three times more likely than lower manual workers to be directly critical of teachers or other aspects of instruction.

Table III-68

Sources of Dissatisfaction with Adult Education Courses, by Occupation

	Occupation			
Sources of Dissatisfaction**	Upper White Collar	Lower White Collar	Upper Manual	Lower Manual
Aspects of instruction	51%	31%	24%	21%
Other complaints	15	21	24	16
Vague or unclassifiable	6	8	10	11
Nothing disliked about courses	36	46	43	53
Total	108%* (124)	106%* (120)	101%* (87)	101%* (90)

*Some respondents gave reasons in two or more categories.

**The types of complaints under each of the headings are the same as those in Table III-67.

It seems unlikely that the greater criticism of the teacher or instruction truly reflects the nature of the instruction received. Rather, the differences probably stem from the ability of high-status persons to make criticisms on the basis of their own knowledge. Manual workers are probably more apt than professionals to defer to the authority of teachers and administrators (7). The distribution of vague responses also tends to indicate that the lower occupational strata have less facility for expressing their feelings of dissatisfaction when they have them.

These social class differences produce distinctively different problems for agencies serving different clienteles. Sponsors which give courses primarily for the more educated are better able to rely on "feedback" in searching for deficiencies in their programs. The handling of complaints may, indeed, be a problem in itself. In contrast, agencies which give courses primarily for those with less education have to deal with the problem of discovering inadequacies in the face of a less articulate student body. Dissatisfaction may exist, but it is more likely to be expressed by student apathy, dropout, and low attendance rates.

Summary

In this chapter we have investigated the sources of information used to discover adult education opportunities, rationales given for non-participation, and evaluation of courses by participants.

It was found that knowledge about places where adult education is offered is highly correlated with social class, even when the effect of prior participation is removed. Manual workers are much less apt than others to know where adult courses are given. Among the participants, the low skill occupational strata tend to find out about adult education offerings from personal contacts, while white collar workers are more apt to have used the impersonal mass media as their primary sources of information. Since the lower strata have fewer friends taking adult education courses, they are also less apt to have good informants about the opportunities available.

Non-participation by manual workers may also be the result of misconceptions about adult education. For example, the manual were more likely than white collar workers to say that they could not afford the cost of adult courses, despite the fact that Oakland Junior College courses are free and high school courses cost only a few dollars per semester. The following rationales for non-participation were consistently given by a higher proportion of manual than white collar men: "I am not the bookish type," "I am probably too old to go back to school," and "I would feel kind of childish going out to classes at night." These response patterns suggest that manual workers tend more than others to view education as an activity for children and adolescents, and not for adults.

The proportions satisfied with adult education courses are about the same as the proportions who liked their prior schooling. These two variables are themselves related: those with more favorable impressions of their formal schooling also tend to be more satisfied with the adult courses in which they have enrolled. The more educated, those who judge their present abilities to be better than they were during their formal schooling, and those enrolled in high schools are also more apt than others to be satisfied with their adult education experiences.

Dissatisfactions were expressed most frequently with regard to different aspects of adult education instruction, such as the teachers' competence or the difficulty of course contents. There are also social class differences in the types of dissatisfactions voiced. Manual workers are more apt to voice no dissatisfactions or to give vague responses; white collar men are more apt to complain about some aspect of instruction, probably because they are less likely to defer to the authority of teachers and administrators. The results suggest that agencies which serve the more educated can rely on their voiced criticisms for improvement of adult curricula, while those serving the less educated are more apt to be faced by indirect consequences of dissatisfaction, such as student apathy or low attendance.

PART IV: THE STUDY IN PERSPECTIVE

Chapter 12: Summary and Conclusions

Problem of Definition

A major problem in studying so amorphous a field of human activity as adult education is securing a clear and explicit definition of what is included and excluded when this concept is used. Whether we look at the subject matter studied, the methods used for instruction, the nature of sponsoring agencies, the duration of educational experiences, or the character of the personnel who manage these activities, we find diversity of the most extreme kind. It is easy to speak about adult education by giving illustrations of the variety of activities encompassed within the field: an immigrant taking a course in citizenship, a professional securing in-service education to stay abreast of his specialty, a "Great Books" program, a management development class, a credit course in an evening college, a discussion group dealing with the "Ways of Mankind," a high school credit program aimed toward earning a diploma, and so on. Such examples provide clear images of concrete behavior that can be easily identified as adult education, but there is a need to be more precise in identifying what is included or excluded in the field so that adult education can be studied objectively and scientifically. Apart from the marginality, invisibility, and lack of legitimacy of adult education as part of society's educational venture, a serious barrier to the promotion of needed research and evaluation has been the difficulty of definition.

In our efforts to define adult education we found it necessary to distinguish between education as purpose and education as function. All of life may have the function of educating adults, but a definition is incomplete unless it makes a distinction between the education of adults and adult education. The latter refers to a more delimited area of human existence, and its boundaries are defined by the purposes of those agencies which sponsor adult education activity.

We also sought to compare adult education with other forms of education by identifying some of the characteristics of adulthood. These include the acceptance of what society calls adult responsibilities and the freedom from dependency that signal the end of adolescence and the assumption of adult roles. Adulthood implies full-time preoccupation with earning a living, raising a family, and other adult roles that restrict further education to a part-time activity. Accordingly, as we sought to identify the way in which our society looks upon adult education, we realized that adult education is typically part-time because adults have full-time obligations elsewhere. The role of the adult as student has not yet been legitimized as appropriate behavior in our society, partly because of the existing myth that people can complete their education in their youth.

In spite of the difficulty experienced in defining adult education, we have identified some of the important functions that adult education fulfills in the wider society. An appraisal of these functions lends credence to the assertion that adult education may be the real frontier of education in the immediate future, in the United States and elsewhere in the world. Essentially, as we noted in Part II of this monograph, society uses adult education as the means of distributing information, skills, and culture to its adult population so that it is better able to deal with the rapidity of change in all segments of human existence. Specifically, some of these functions are as follows:

1. Provision for education made necessary by societal dislocation: citizenship education for immigrants, retraining due to job obsolescence, rural to urban movement of people, etc.

2. A remedial function to provide opportunities for education not secured in one's youth: learning to read and write, securing a high school diploma, etc.

3. Providing for education to help adults deal with their actual experiences in the world of work: on-the-job training, supplementary skill training to perform one's job or to get another position, in-service training, etc.

4. Duplication of instruction provided by formal educational institutions: once vocational specialization is secured, obtaining greater breadth in subjects that were of little or no interest in one's youth; provision for compensatory activities that provide intellectual and emotional rewards not gained from work and leisure pursuits; a means of testing out new curriculum ideas; etc.

5. The provision of vocational education in the face of the rapid obsolescence of skills as a result of rapid technological change.

6. The transmission of cultural activities that foster the values of education involving learning, thinking, and reflection. Adult education has a particular competency to promote interest and enhance the value of the study of art, music, literature, philosophy, history, and other liberal arts that will contribute to the greater realization of the individual as a human being and as a significant member of society.

7. The provision of instruction for the special interests found in a complex society. The great flexibility of the adult education enterprise creates the basis for its functioning as the means to provide for the differential needs and interests of a pluralistic society that allows a diversity of interest to be expressed.

8. The promotion of occupational and social mobility for individual participants.

In assessing the meaning of adult education, we have tried to be true to its essential nature. We conclude that the special competence and unique strength of adult education may be its flexibility, which enables it to shift programming to meet the diversity of needs and interests found in a highly dynamic society. Indeed, its lack of tradition and lack of substantial support as a fully legitimatized institution in society provides a stimulus for greater creativity to deal with diverse problems. This enhances its value in a changing society, in contrast to the more tradition-bound and rigid formal educational institutions.

The Character of Oakland

To provide the reader with some background information, this monograph includes a chapter on the City of Oakland where the study was conducted. Because of space limitations, we could only offer a much abbreviated discussion. To the outsider Oakland has often appeared as a cultural desert, but residents of the city are able to point to many significant accomplishments. Proximity to San Francisco has produced invidious comparisons which serve as an obstacle to the maintenance of a unique identity in the East Bay city. Like many other central cities, Oakland is undergoing rapid population changes, especially in its racial distribution. Increased efforts toward the improvement of community leadership involving all segments of the population are necessary, and the improvement of educational services in working-class and slum communities must have greater priority than now exists in the city. The importance of adult education in improving community life is potentially great, but at present Oakland is behind other California cities in the quantity of educational services provided for its adult residents.

Educational Opportunities for Adults in Oakland

Opportunities for the education of adults exist within the City of Oakland, although about half of the adult education participants located by our surveys were enrolled in educational programs outside the city. We sought to extend our view of existing facilities by a survey of organizations as well as individuals. Of all the Oakland organizations surveyed, about a fourth reported sponsoring one or more educational activities. The rate of sponsorship varies considerably by type of organization, with over four-fifths of the educational institutions and only a fifth of the employment-centered organizations sponsoring adult education. Sponsorship rates of civic-governmental and voluntary associations are intermediate. The importance of including all types of organizations in any survey of adult education was demonstrated by the finding that a very large segment of adult education is offered by non-educational organizations. While an adult is more likely to find instruction in a school, since schools tend to have larger programs, it is also true that educational institutions are in the minority among the organizations which sponsor adult education.

The extent of co-sponsorship of adult programs by educational and non-educational institutions was not widespread in Oakland, even though this provides a way of combining resources so that a program can be offered. Co-sponsorship is particularly valuable for small organizations who would be unable to provide instruction without a pooling of facilities, teaching staff, and clientele with the larger educational institutions.

The admission policies of adult programs tend to be more flexible than the policies of formal educational institutions. In Oakland, the most common restriction is the limitation of admission for members or employees only. In addition, some unions have a policy of restricting entrance to apprenticeship programs to candidates sponsored by union members, which often serves to discriminate against minorities. Among all organizations offering programs for adults, the most restrictive admission policies are found in the formal educational institutions, stemming from their tendency to use the policies of their parent organizations.

While it is clear that proprietary schools charge substantial fees, it was also found that tax-supported institutions were more likely to charge fees than non-educational groups. This was unexpected, and led to a concern that the charging of fees might coerce educational organizations into emulating the practices of groups in business for a profit. If this were so, the more popular and entertaining types of educational programs would be emphasized, to the detriment of providing education of a more enduring value to the individual and society.

Community Survey

Our primary concern in the Community Survey was to provide a basic description of the patterns of participation in Oakland which would be fairly representative of its population. A second purpose was to examine and report upon the variety of interrelationships between existing patterns of participation. Our summary of the Community Survey will be limited to a brief discussion of the variety of ways in which our respondents participated, the character of the variations found in the gross participation rate, and the differences detected in a more refined analysis of participation rates.

Adult education is not a unitary phenomenon, as we noted in our discussion of its meaning, but is composed of the most diverse kinds of activities and is organized and sponsored by a vast variety of organizations and institutions. The most frequent method of instruction was found to be classes or courses, where the teacher confronts the student directly, although a substantial number (15%) were enrolled in correspondence courses. Other methods of instruction were discussion groups, lecture series, and the use of private teachers. The overwhelming majority of participants pursued instruction through only one method.

The importance of adult education as a direct aid to help adults in their present jobs or to secure other positions was evident when half of the respondents reported pursuing programs directly related to their occupational roles. Vocational programs were more frequently sponsored by educational institutions, while non-vocational activities tended to be offered by non-educational groups such as government, business, employee associations, and voluntary association.

Instructional formats and the types of subjects offered are significantly different among the variety of groups providing adult education. For example, white-collar, blue-collar, and academic subjects are typically offered within the format of a course, whereas moral-religious subjects are most frequently taught by use of discussion groups. Although almost all sponsors teach manual and white-collar subjects, there tends to be a high degree of specialization among the sponsoring organizations. University extension typically offers white-collar and academic subjects, while manual skills are more normally found in the high schools, proprietary schools, and among employment centered groups. Similarly, different sponsors tend to specialize in different instructional formats, and these differences are not due to the subjects being taught. Educational institutions are much more apt than non-educational groups to use courses or classes for instruction, probably because this is the traditional practice in their day-time curriculum. In this sense, then, the adult education in educational institutions tends to be less flexible than the adult education offered by the other sponsoring organizations.

In examining some of the socio-economic characteristics that might distinguish the participants from non-participants, we found that education is statistically the most important factor influencing the likelihood of participation. As noted in other studies of adult education, the more educated a person is the more likely he is to participate. We found the relation very impressive in our study, with participation rates ranging from two per cent among those with less than five years of schooling to 23 per cent among college graduates. Even without a college degree, the experience of attending college appears to have an important effect on the likelihood of a person participating, because men with only one to three years of college training participate at more than twice the rate found among high school graduates with no college experience.

As reported in studies of social stratification, different components of socio-economic status are correlated. We found the same pattern in Oakland, where the higher educated tend to get higher incomes, to have more prestigeful occupations, and to live in the more expensive sections of the city. However, the relations between adult education participation and each of these components of socio-economic status (occupation, income, and mean rental) were found to be largely due to the effect of education on participation. A further examination of the relationship between participation and mean rental revealed some high participation rates in low rental areas. For example, those with some college tended to have higher rates of participation than we would expect from low rental areas. After examining a variety of possible relationships that might explain such discrepancies we were unable to arrive at a satisfactory explanation, and the limited data in the Community Survey did not permit us to pursue this analysis further.

In addition to the effect of education, a second major variable influencing participation is age. The younger are more likely than older men to participate. At every level of education, the younger participate in higher proportions than the older; and in every age group, the better educated have higher participation rates than the less educated. In a further analysis through an examination of the reasons for participation, we found that participation decreases very rapidly with age in activities taken for vocational reasons while the participation rates for non-vocational participation remain relatively constant. In non-vocational subjects, the small decrease that occurs is due to the influence of education, because the better educated continue to participate regardless of age. An obvious explanation for this pattern is that older men have less reason and opportunity to get better jobs or to improve themselves in their present positions. Therefore, it is reasonable that the rate of participation decreases with age for those taking adult education for vocational reasons.

This suggests that adult education cannot be regarded as a substitute for formal education, but is rather an extension of it. The break between completion of formal education and participation in adult life appears so abrupt that a "halfway house" is required to ease this transition. Adult education appears to perform this function for a substantial proportion of young people. In this sense, adult education is a practical, service-oriented institution which provides some additional learning opportunities to better prepare the young adult, and thus serves as a bridge from adolescence to adulthood. In addition, as one ages, the adult tends to disengage from a variety of activities that may be considered more appropriate for the young. Since education is usually considered to be primarily a "youthful" activity, it may be that older adults disengage more rapidly from participating in educational pursuits than in other kinds of activities. Consistent with these findings there were significant differences by age in subject matter taken, sponsor, and modes of instruction.

So far we have located two major influences at work in determining adult education participation: age and the extent of formal education. The fact still remains, however, that many men who are highly educated and young in age do not participate. We therefore sought other factors which, within the limits of the data gathered in the Community Survey, would serve as additional elements to account for participation.

Once the effects of education and age are controlled, the only significant associations that remain are connected with race and leisure activities. Negroes tend to have less education than whites, but their participation differs noticeably, however, especially among the older men. While the younger Negro is very similar to the white, both in rate and in the types of subjects studied, older Negroes participate at a higher rate than older whites, particularly in moral-religious programs. Negroes have three times the participation rate of whites in religious instruction, while whites have three times the rate of Negroes in programs sponsored by universities. The younger Negro is likely to participate in vocational-skill programs in a fashion approaching whites, but generational differences among Negroes are so great that there is a

47 per cent drop in job-connected participation as Negroes get older in contrast to only a 14 per cent drop among whites. The unique characteristic of Negro participants is the markedly different participation pattern among the older generation of Negroes, whose participation in moral-religious instruction and relative de-emphasis of vocational participation is very marked.

The above-named differences between Negroes and whites refer to differences in types of participation, not to the over-all participation rates. The only effect on the total rate, in addition to education and age, was found to be the style of life during leisure hours. Our community study secured data on the amount of television viewing, extent of visiting with neighbors and friends, and favorite leisure activity. All of these pursuits are voluntary and carried out during the respondents' free time. These activities we defined as "style of life," since the manner in which an individual spends his free time is more relevant in characterizing his perspective toward life than his other activities connected with work and family, where he is under more rigid controls imposed by the organization and occupation.

There were several dimensions that we identified in our examination of the relationship between leisure activity and participation. One dimension relates to whether respondents have an active or passive orientation toward life, as reflected in the kind of leisure activities they engaged in. For example, the active person would be more apt to engage in active sports, in informal social activities with friends, or visit friends or relatives; conversely, he would spend less time watching television or engaging in the more inactive pursuits like working around the house and loafing. Our data suggest that the active person is more likely to participate in adult education than the passive individual, regardless of age and amount of formal education.

A second dimension of some importance concerns the content of leisure activity. This dimension is unrelated to the active-passive typology since a person can be passive or active in any activity. Preferring serious reading, art and music, formal organizations, or informal social activities is more likely to result in participation than a preference for activities such as sports, hobbies, or crafts. These relations persisted when education and age were controlled.

Thus, the Community Survey data indicated three major and independent determinants of adult education: age, style of life, and the amount of formal education. These findings informed both the design and the analysis of the subsequent Matched Sample Survey.

Matched Sample Survey

There is a high relationship between organizational and adult education participation. Those who belong to more organizations, attend more monthly meetings, and are sufficiently committed to have been officers of formal organizations, are more likely than less active individuals to participate in adult education. This suggests that a general participation syndrome is at work. Being too busy is not a deterrent to being involved in adult education, contrary to popular impression. There is a high relationship between educational attainment and participation, so that the better educated also exhibit the participation syndrome mentioned above. However, with few exceptions, the more active organizational member is more likely to participate in adult education, regardless of his educational level.

The exceptions were found among those who belonged to veteran-patriotic, political-social action, and labor organizations. The generally positive association between membership and participation was reversed among members in these three types of organizations. We could not extend our analysis for the former two groups because of their small memberships, but a more detailed examination of the reasons for the negative effect of union membership was possible. Unlike attendance in other Oakland organizations, we found that attending union meetings appeared to be detrimental to adult education participation. Among men who belong only to unions and to no other organizations, the more active have a somewhat lower rate of participation than the inactive members. However, this negative relationship exists only for the skilled workers who are active union members. Among the semi-skilled and unskilled union members there is no association between attending meetings and participation. The tendency of high-skill unions to refrain from sponsoring adult education activities (except for apprentices) may be a plausible explanation for the negative association found. In addition, skilled workers tend to be older, more established in their skills, and have seniority, so that they are less likely to require vocational training; union membership among the skilled work force might be taken as a sign of a decreased interest in social or occupational mobility; or the negative association may result from the failure of adult education agencies to offer programs of direct interest and relevance to the more highly skilled union members. Whatever the explanation, it is unfortunate that the American labor movement, as exhibited by unions in Oakland, tends to lag behind by not emphasizing the continuing education of its members. This lack is pronounced in comparison to some British and Australian unions, which have bargained for and obtained day-release classes for some of their members and the inclusion of workers' education during working hours.

An examination of the variety of informal leisure activities suggested a number of patterns that differentiate the better educated from the less educated men in Oakland. First, the more educated tend to engage in a larger variety of leisure pursuits, including activities which are usually regarded as primarily the province of the lower socio-economic strata. Second, the less educated even the balance by tending to spend more time at those leisure pursuits in which they do engage, with the exception of some activities such as outdoor sports and attending concerts and plays. Third, there is a tendency for the less educated to engage more than the better educated in activities around the home, the extended family, and the neighborhood; in contrast, the more educated tend to be active in social and cultural activities having connections with the larger society. Thus, the less educated tend to be connected primarily through the mass media (television, movies, and spectator sports), while the more educated are connected more through reading, cultural pursuits, active sports, and memberships in voluntary associations.

Adult men who have high rates of participation in adult education are also likely to be engaged in a greater variety of informal leisure activities. The person with more extensive interests is the one who is more likely to participate in adult education. Adult educators commonly have the impression that they compete for a clientele with a host of leisure pursuits and organizational attachments, so that people are too busy and over-extended. This is not supported by our data. The more an individual exhibits an active orientation toward life, the more likely he is to participate. In contrast, participating in such relatively passive leisure activities as long hours viewing television, loafing around the house, working in the garden, or attending mass spectator sports, is negatively associated with adult education participation.

Our analysis of the relationship between participation and different leisure styles revealed three themes. First, there tends to be a leisure style which consists of membership and participation in organizations, and this style is congenial to participation in adult education. Second, there is a style of broad leisure interests, expressed by the pursuit of a large number and variety of non-organizational activities. This is also congenial to adult education participation. Third, a distinction must be made with regard to the content of the activities engaged in frequently. Frequent participation in cultural matters, social relations outside the immediate family or neighborhood or immediate work situation, and active engagement in sports tend to be highly related to participation in adult education. In contrast, frequent participation in activities situated in one's immediate surroundings, friendship relations in more restricted social circles, and a passive engagement in sports and the mass media (viewing television) tend to be negatively associated with participation in adult education.

The problem of defining participation in adult education came up again in the Matched Sample Survey. Participating is not an either-or form of behavior, but is more likely to be a more-or-less form of activity. A majority of the non-participants reported that they had participated in some form of adult education since they finished formal schooling. Thus, being active in an adult education program at the time of the interview is only one possible measure of participation, since a current non-participant could have participated sometime in the past. Indeed, it was found that over three-quarters of all respondents (participants and non-participants) had participated in adult education since leaving school. Furthermore, 27 per cent of the non-participants had participated some time during the past five years, although they were not currently active. Any explanation of current participation in terms of a respondent's past behavior or set of stable values or psychological configurations is not reasonable, since so many current non-participants have participated in the past. Instead, we sought to explain current participation in terms of other aspects of a man's current situation.

A man's occupation has considerable influence upon his likelihood of participating in adult education. Studying at home as part of the job most typically characterizes the professional and technical occupations, and is an important predictor of participation. In those occupations where home study is common, participation in vocational education for the purpose of helping in one's work tasks is also frequent. The expectation of being promoted leads to participation, as well as being in a job where promotion depends on educational attainment or doing well in one's work in contrast to seniority or social abilities. Men with jobs requiring technical knowledge are twice as likely to participate than persons in non-technical occupations.

The desire to change jobs is also an important indicator of the likelihood of participating in adult education. The expression of a desire to change jobs, coupled with dissatisfaction with one's present conditions of employment, is associated with participation. Men will take courses to assist in getting a better position if their present jobs are of low status and they wish to leave them. Mobility aspirations are most frequently found in jobs where men feel that the work does not utilize their abilities and they deserve a better opportunity. Our data did not permit us to examine occupational aspirations in terms of basic values, but social background and present work situations probably interact to determine various levels of aspiration.

Ordinarily, it might be expected that alternative channels of mobility might substitute for participation in adult education, and should therefor be negatively associated with it. However, we found that the aspiration for self-employment, quite prevalent among working-class men, does not compete with adult education. The common impression that man has a limited amount of energy that can be devoted to only a limited number of activities was thoroughly rejected by our data. Men who engaged in "moonlighting" were more likely to take adult education than those who did not. These findings further confirm our image of man, discussed in Chapter 1, as a highly dynamic, self-generating organism with high levels of energy, potential, and capacity, who is more limited by his own definition of himself and his opportunities than by any inherent organic traits.

One of our major hypotheses was that there existed a general tendency to place a high value on education, and that this would distinguish participants from non-participants. We found no such tendency, even though we employed a factor analysis and other statistical methods to discover one. This hypothesis may be worthy of further study because our negative findings may have been due to varying interpretations of the questions by men in different social positions. However, our data suggest that social position and present situation are the major determinants of participation.

Another hypothesis investigated was that a prior dislike of school is associated with participation in adult education. We found no such relationship. Further, the type of experiences that lead high school graduates to go to college are not the same sorts of experiences that influence adults to take courses in adult education. One of the most important determinants of entrance to college is the social class position of a child's family. A child whose family is headed by a father in a white-collar occupation is six times more likely to go to college than a child from a manual home where the father has less than a 9th grade education. Nevertheless, we found that the educational and occupational statuses of the parents were not correlated with current participation in adult education. What appears to be important for the latter is a man's own life situation., rather than the background out of which he came.

A necessary condition for participating in adult education is awareness of existing opportunities. We discovered that impersonal sources, such as the mass media(newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, posters, radio, television), were the most important ways by which white-collar men secured information about adult education programs. In contrast, personal sources (neighbors, friends, and acquaintances) were the most frequent sources used by blue-collar workers. Such workers are therefore at a disadvantage because their acquaintances are less likely to have participated in adult education, and are thus less apt to be knowledgeable informants. Low-skilled manual workers are most likely to be ignorant of educational opportunities open to them, and also have the greatest number of misconceptions about the relevance of education, including its cost, appropriateness, and so on. From these findings it is apparent that the usual methods by which adult education agencies advertise or make known the availability of educational opportunities are inadequate for increasing blue-collar participation.

In trying to account for the lack of participation by non-participants we asked an indirect question, listing some common reasons and asking respondents to state whether these reasons applied to them. Manual workers were more apt to say that they were too tired in the evening, would feel childish going back to school, could not afford the money, or could learn what they needed to know without attending classes. They were also likely to state that they were too old to go back to school, perhaps with the expectation that they would have to start where they left off when they dropped out of school as youngsters. Unfortunately, too many adults are unaware of the existence of a variety of short-cuts, including credit by examinations, credit for work experience, waiving of some requirements, and the known fact that adults are able to progress faster than youngsters. An important advantage of the adult learner, seldom realized by non-participants and by many educators, is that the greater maturity, increased motivation, more extensive background and experience of adults contribute to improved performance. Often initial blocks to learning, such as the lack of learning skills (reading, writing, listening, studying), must be overcome, particularly among blue-collar workers, after which learning can proceed and lead to a reasonable and satisfactory level of achievement. In contrast to the manual worker, white-collar workers are much more likely to say that they are too busy to attend adult education classes. Despite the obstacles to participation, two-thirds of all non-participants asserted that they would like to take some courses during their free time "if they had the time." While "time" can be interpreted in a variety of ways, this finding suggests the existence of a potential audience far in excess of present rates of participation.

We also sought to get the participants' appraisals of their adult education experiences to provide some basis for evaluation. Since participation is a voluntary activity, we expected the overwhelming majority to indicate satisfaction. As expected, most adults reported being "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with their educational experiences. There were some sources of dissatisfaction, however, dealing with such matters as the quality of teaching, the content of instruction, poor physical facilities, travel inconveniences, and so on. The better educated participant was far more critical of the teaching and curriculum than the less educated participant. The explanation for such criticism probably lies more in the ability of the better educated to express their discontent in the services offered to them. As a result of better education, more knowledge, greater school experience, and more developed verbal facility, the better educated articulate criticisms more easily. An important implication of this is that agencies sponsoring adult education programs are able to secure feedback more readily from middle class, better educated participants than from the less educated working class. Since most programs are organized according to middle class values and perspectives, it appears that an important obstacle to the improvement of services for working class groups and individuals is the diminished feedback information. Under such circumstances, dissatisfactions that may exist probably find expression in drop-outs, low attendance rates, apathy, or simply failure to enroll as one hears criticisms from friends, relatives, and colleagues at work. An important responsibility for the adult education administrator is to identify better ways of receiving communications from working class adults, by working with their organizations, developing empathy with their values, and making efforts toward the improvement of their verbal skills and self confidence.

Chapter 13: Implications and Recommendations

The growth of knowledge and technological improvements, the introduction of cybernetics in combination with automation, and other changes have produced a virtual revolution in the character of our labor force. For the first time in the history of any industrial society the number of blue collar workers has been surpassed by white collar workers. This happened in the United States in 1956, and the trend is increasing at an accelerating rate. Education requirements for employment have been rising rapidly, and manpower experts predict that jobs requiring less than high school graduation will steadily decline. Recently, the Secretary of Labor stated that machines are now able to perform better than workers who are not at least high school graduates. The evidence is clear that expansion of job opportunities is taking place in areas requiring a high level of education. Between 1950 and 1960, while total employment rose 11 per cent, professional and technical workers increased 67 per cent, craftsmen and foremen were up 12 per cent, and laborers rose 4 per cent. The acceleration of this trend is widely predicted as cybernation increases its domination of industry, business, and the applications of science. Even service industries, which are in the most rapid growth sector of our economy, will be affected by the new scientific and industrial revolution. These changes have been largely a post World War II phenomenon, and are only now becoming more widely known to the general public. The number of new jobs created out of the expansion of our economy has noticeably failed to keep pace with the increasing size of the labor force, thus creating a substantial unemployment rate amidst widespread prosperity and affluence.

This manpower revolution has direct and immediate implications for the transformation of our total society. It is now evident that anybody educated to less than his potential is an economic liability. The trend toward the elimination of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs directly affects the less educated, and makes education a far more important means of mobility than has been true in the past. Furthermore, there is an increasing requirement that all adults pursue a program of continuing learning merely to keep up with the rapidity of changes in the world of work. This is widely recognized among professional occupations, and will soon be a condition of employment for many other occupations at varying levels of skill. In our changing economy, obsolescence not only applies to commodities and techniques but to human skills, as is indicated by the fact that unskilled workers represented 15 per cent of the unemployed in 1962 while they constituted only 5 per cent of the labor force. The high correlation between education and the ability to find work is well established.

An issue that will increasingly plague our society will be the intensification of inter-generational conflict between the younger and better educated who compete for work with the less educated older adults. Employers are already torn between humane considerations, seniority provisions, and union demands for the protection of the older worker and the desire to employ the better educated younger person who may be better adjusted to a cybernated work situtation. This is a problem directly relevant to adult education, central to the whole manpower revolution now taking place, and its solution involves developing the facilities and staff to help workers acquire the education and training they need to better utilize their talents, capacities, and potential.

It is now evident that education and training must become a continuing part of everyone's life. Otherwise, we probably cannot avoid an intensification of unemployment and underemployment, premature retirement, increase of welfare costs, and a rapid deterioration of mental health. On this latter point, evidence shows that the incidence of psychological breakdown increases with unemployment, and that one of the most effective therapeutic devices to insure restoration of good mental health is the provision of an adequate job. Since the realities of the world of work increasingly require continuing education as a condition of employment, its importance can no longer be ignored.

Many leaders in education, government, industry, and the lay public have still to be made aware of the immediacy of this need and the urgency for action. Although the importance of education for the young is widely evident and ample resources and attention are devoted to it, similar attention is seldom directed to the education of adults. The NORC national survey, which reported that almost a fourth of the adult population is engaged in some type of systematic learning, suggests that there is now a substantial audience for adult education. But this survey and our own study point to the fact that the better educated are over-represented among adult education clientele. This finding is established by other studies as well, and we can now accept the generalization that the more education an individual secures, the more likely he is to seek further education. How to induce the less educated to participate is the major problem to be solved if we are to meet the challenge imposed upon us by the manpower revolution.

Many of the obstacles to improving the participation rate of blue collar workers stem from some of the myths held by school administrators, teachers, adult educators, welfare professionals, legislators, employers, personnel workers, and the better educated and more affluent segments of our society. These are the myths about the nature of blue collar life, particularly about the manual worker's interest, capacity, ability, and potential for learning. Some of these myths are outlined below.

Myths About the Blue Collar World

Workers are naturally apathetic and uninterested in the larger society. This myth of worker "apathy" is one with a long history, dating back to the period when efforts were first made to increase educational opportunities on a mass scale. It is partly based on the moral assumption that people should be doing things in an approved middle class way, and an insistence that the worker should assume the institutional views of the agency that reflects a middle class orientation. Seldom is attention paid to the life styles of workers in order to inform the educational institution about the best way to approach a working class clientele. The myth of the "apathetic" working class strata is thus detrimental to efforts for increasing their participation in adult education, because it finds fault with the potential clientele rather than with the serving institutions.

Workers are not capable of sustained intellectual effort, and therefore are not able to benefit from continuing education. This view stems from the common assumption that all members of society want to belong to the middle class, and that those who do not get the requisite education as children simply do not have the ability or capacity to do adequate work in school. Aside from recent studies which undermine the myth that workers are not intellectually capable, history itself attests to the fact that, when sufficiently challenged, all men are capable of thought and deed beyond what are commonly imagined to be their limits. Many former colonies of European powers have emerged as powerful and self-sufficient nations even though they were settled by indentured servants, malcontents, heretics, criminals, and other outcasts from their mother countries. Such pioneers became very successful in building total societies, and this should make one uneasy about facile generalizations regarding the "incapability" of the lower socio-economic strata.

The blue collar strata do not have an interest in or appreciation of the value of education. It was our observation that workers value education highly, but often express a negative attitude toward schools. This negative attitude emerges out of the failure of schools to deal effectively with the style of thinking, background, and values of workers and their children. Often, schools are not able to provide the type of learning that is meaningful to working class children and adults, and dropouts and low participation rates result. Thus, early disaffection with the school system is likely to lead to the myth that workers do not value education.

Intellectual ability is demonstrated early in life--if it does not appear then, it will never appear. This myth, which acts to the detriment of the blue collar worker, is based on the belief that all individuals mature in the same fashion. The prevailing system of moving children through the schools on the basis of chronological age penalizes working class children who are likely to be "late bloomers," since they do not come to school with some of the verbal skills acquired by the more advantaged middle class children. This myth is supported by the view that early intellectual immaturity is a sign of stupidity or inherent lack of ability. The social typing that ensues separates people into categories of the "bright" and the "dull," and this operates as a self-fulfilling prophecy and damages the self image of workers so that they are indeed incapable of intellectual effort. The increasing importance of education further accentuates the differences between the better educated and the less educated, and leads to impatience and intolerance toward the latter by professionals, intellectuals, and others who are more advantaged. If we are to organize facilities and opportunities for continuing education and training, particularly for the groups not now being reached by adult education, we must critically re-examine the impact of this myth upon our willingness and capacity to program learning experiences for workers.

People lose the ability to learn with increasing age. Contrary to existing research evidence, this myth implies that there is an intellectual deterioration which occurs with age. While aging is accompanied by a deterioration in some capacity such as hearing, seeing, and the speed of reaction time, these physical changes do not extend to a slowing down of the ability to learn. On the contrary, the loss of an ability to comprehend new materials results from the disuse of one's intellectual faculties rather than from the physical fact of aging. The internalization of an attitude that one's ability to learn deteriorates with age operates as a self-fulfilling prophecy, which may actually retard the ability to learn or the motivation to engage in educational activities. If we accept the notion that learning can be effectively pursued on a continuing basis throughout life, we are more likely to induce an interest and desire to learn. The fact that the participation rate for all groups studied did not decrease with age in non-vocational areas supports the appropriate assertion that education and learning are not bound by age and can be life-long.

Social Obstacles to Blue Collar Participation

Apart from the myths that operate as obstacles to blue collar participation, we identified a number of other barriers which stem from the character of blue collar life. The fact that manual workers are most apt to learn about adult education opportunities through personal contacts places them at a disadvantage because they have fewer friends who attend adult education activities. In contrast, the white collar participants secured their information about educational opportunities through the mass media, and therefore had ample ways of learning about existing educational programs. These findings suggest that it is very important for adult educators to utilize methods of informing a potential clientele other than the mass media, mailing lists and posters. Since personal contacts are a limited approach to the manual worker, it would be fruitful to use existing working class organizations, churches, shopping centers, and other places that are frequented by workers to communicate the availability of education. Television may be an important means of communication if adult educators can find some way of overcoming the expense of its use, perhaps by the development of public service announcements at minimum or no cost to existing programs.

Manual workers tend to have many misconceptions about adult education. Its cost was often cited as a reason for not participating, even though some of the programs are inexpensive or free of charge. Being tired was cited frequently by blue collar workers, even though white collar workers tend to work longer hours. Being too old was more apt to be mentioned by blue collar workers, as well as being "discouraged or kidded" by their friends about participating in adult education activities. In addition, we found that blue collar workers tend more than others to define education as something for children and adolescents. These misconceptions need to be overcome, perhaps by a widespread mass media campaign or by special instruction in the high schools.

When blue collar workers participate in adult education activities, they are less critical of the teaching and curriculum than better educated men. This is so probably because blue collar workers find it more difficult to verbally appraise the value of their adult education experiences. As a result, the organizations which serve the educationally disadvantaged have less "feedback" in searching for program deficiencies than do institutions which cater to the more educated adults. Since adult educators tend to have middle class orientation and are less knowledgeable about working class values and interests, the bias against the blue collar worker tends to be compounded. The lack of criticism allows educators to allocate blame for failures to the students rather than assessing the extent to which such failures are caused by a lack of skillful teaching or competency in subject matter. Some effort must be made to improve the quality of understanding of working class behavior and values among administrators and teachers who operate programs designed for working class adults.

The unemployed workers in our study had the lowest participation rate in spite of their greater free time to engage in further training. It appears that unemployment often leads to a psychological sense of hopelessness, combined with apparent apathy and a virtual inability to exert energy and effort to improve one's position. This is probably most true when retraining does not ensure subsequent employment. Before we can reasonably induce workers to enter the various manpower retraining programs developing around the country, we must make a greater effort to ensure that the training is tied to jobs actually available in the labor market. Unless the result of retraining is the assurance of a definite job, we will only increase frustration and discontent among workers who are being replaced by machines and who may well constitute a permanent unemployed group in our society.

Our study also revealed that men take courses to help them on their jobs if they hold positions which require continuing education. The prototype of such positions is found in the professions--almost all professionals had taken at least one adult education course during their careers, a substantial number reported that they studied at home for their jobs, and a substantial proportion were engaged in current adult education courses. Since most blue collar jobs, particularly at the lower levels of skill, do not require continuing education, one can readily see why blue collar workers have a much lower rate of participation than other segments of the labor force. These findings suggest that an important condition for increasing motivation and interest in continuing education may lie in designing work so that it requires further education. It is unrealistic to organize vocational education programs in local schools, announce their availability in the mass media, and then expect substantial numbers of blue collar workers to enroll. One possible solution is to induce management and labor to negotiate day-release time for educational purposes. Such programs could be designed to provide the needed upgrading and retraining necessary if blue collar workers are to remain employed. Day-release time would incorporate education and training as a condition of employment and serve to stimulate a higher degree of motivation than now exists among blue collar workers.

An additional value of day-release programs would be the support of cooperation between management and labor. Whenever necessary, government and educational institutions would be available to assist management and labor in carrying out such activities. It is now evident that any continuing education program must involve the closest degree of cooperation between management, labor, government, and education if the manpower demand for a new concept of continuing education is to be realized. While it is true that education alone will not solve the unemployment problem, it can serve to provide workers with marketable skills.

The growing complexity of machinery and equipment now in industry suggests that workers be trained in a more realistic fashion than now exists. Much of vocational education in the high schools is ineffective because the skills taught are not relevant to the world of work. Unless the equipment and "knowhow" possessed by industry and business are used in the vocational education of the young and adults, we may have to face the possibility that students are trained for skills which are obsolete in the work-place. Whatever vocational training is provided should be done in on-the-job and day-release programs for adults and a combination of education and work programs for adolescents. The latter should receive general education in the schools and vocational education on their part-time jobs in business and industry. In addition to these suggestions, it may be valuable to examine more closely the programs of vocational education being carried out in the armed services, and to have education and industry follow them in redesigning their own programs of continuing vocational education.

Another critical need is the provision of a more adequate counseling and guidance program than now exists either in the schools or in adult education. A continuing problem in adult education is the paucity of counseling and guidance that are particularly needed by the poorly educated. Often the less educated adults are less aware of their educational needs or how to proceed in planning an effective program of education that would be meaningful for them. It is the rare program of adult education that now provides an adequate program of counseling for its clientele. The "counseling" that now exists merely directs students to what is offered and provides information about the available courses. One of the largest programs of adult education offered in the country, by the University of California Extension Division, has no resources to provide counseling or guidance.

Since human skills are undergoing obsolescence in a manner similar to the planned obsolescence of commodities, we might consider the possibility of a depreciation allowance for job obsolescence similar to tax concessions that are now provided for machinery depreciation. The tax laws might be revised to provide industry with some financial incentives to organize more effective training programs for their own employees when jobs within the company become obsolete. While many companies do not lay off personnel but employ a policy of reducing their payroll by attrition, such practice retains the older worker but reduces the opportunities for younger workers seeking employment. The obsolescence allowance mentioned above might be fruitfully used to encourage all companies to retain all employees who might otherwise be displaced by machines. Over the long run, the policy would serve to focus the retraining problem upon younger, and presumably better educated workers who might have a better background for successful retraining. In addition, companies might be encourage through the provision of other tax concessions to provide training for non-employees in cooperation with education organizations so that they could recruit these newly trained workers for their own work force and provide a skilled work force pool for smaller employers unable to provide training in their own organizations.

Business and industry might explore the possibility of creating a reward system which provides incentives to employees for enhancing their skills, either by their own efforts or through company programs. While many companies provide education at no cost to their employees or pay tuition for classes taken at educational institutions, our proposal is for a more concerted effort to create incentives, particularly for the less educated members of their work force, to pursue education and training on a continuing basis to enhance their value to the company and to insure future employability. This proposal would also insure that workers would undergo retraining long before they face the threat of being laid off because of a lack of appropriate job skills. A program to encourage education and retraining before unemployment is much more likely to produce successful learning experiences than waiting until a worker is thrown out of work. As noted previously, we found that unemployed workers had the lowest participation rate, which supports our thesis that the most fruitful period to institute retraining is when workers are employed.

Another implication for adult education arising out of our present manpower crisis is the need to retrain those professionals who occupy obsolete positions, such as vocational agriculture teachers whose clientele is diminishing rapidly with the reduction in the agricultural labor force. While retraining often refers to the manual worker's needs, it also must encompass professionals who need retraining in order to assume a more responsible position in the total society. Teachers and school administrators must be induced to pursue additional training to enhance their ability to revise present programs which are outmoded and inefficient. Greater cooperation between schools, industry, and employment agencies might result in the improvement of knowledge about projected employment needs, so that education programs in the schools and in adult education may be appropriately redesigned to provide adolescents and adults with the skills needed to satisfy future employment demands.

Education for Leisure

While we devoted major attention in this chapter to issues directly related to employment, our study was also concerned with the potentially significant role of adult education in the use of leisure time. There is ample evidence that the time away from work will increase sharply in the years ahead, as there are further reductions in the work week. In addition, a fairly large segment of our population may be unemployed, a growing number retired from work, and an additional group of non-workers who are neither employed, nor students, nor old or disabled, and who will constitute a segment of the population freed from the requirements of work with ample free time available to it. Current developments suggest that leisure time may become a problem for a vast majority of our citizens who have free time on their hands without interests that will contribute to their development as individuals and as members of society.

Free time is presently saturated with recreational activities. If it is to be used for more than this, we must devote serious attention to providing education for leisure with the same level of concern and commitment with which we have argued for education relevant to work. Our values, which stress the importance of work and keeping busy, have not yet been modified to take into account the growing amount of free time that will become available to an increasing proportion of our population. Such free time should be used in a constructive manner, for the improvement of the individual and the reform of society. The increase in non-vocational adult education programs across the country may be an indication of a search for more creative forms of spending free time. There is a need to accelerate this development, and to incorporate the multitude of working class adults who are still non-participants.

There is some evidence that many millions of Americans are devoting some of their leisure time to aesthetics, arts, and other cultural pursuits. It has been estimated that as many as 120 million people attend art-oriented events each years, such as amateur and professional theater, concerts and recitals, and art museums and galleries. In terms of participation, almost 50 million engage in some form of artistic expression, such as painting, sketching, sculpting, art photography, acting, and as musical instrumentalists. According to estimates, there are now 1,200 professional and semi-professional symphony orchestras in the United States, and the total number of people attending concerts exceeds the audience watching baseball. There may be as many as 15 million painters, sketchers, and sculptors today. While there is little knowledge about who these people are who are contributing to the rise of interest in the arts and other cultural pursuits, it is reasonable to assume that they are largely composed of the better educated, middle class segment of our population. If this is true, we should realize the need of extending current interest in the arts to other segments of our society who are going to face the prospect of increasing leisure time.

Adult education must increasingly be devoted to a dual role of providing education for work and education for leisure. Training must increasingly become continuous and life-long to enable our population to fulfill its roles in both work and leisure pursuits. If we hold to an image of man as having the potential for much greater achievement than is nowbeing realized, we must resist the familiar tendency to blame the recipients of education for their failure to learn. When we have confidence that people have the ability to learn. and that failure to learn may also be the fault of the teacher or institution, we will be better equipped to work more effectively with those who are not being reached by adult education. The critical severity of our present manpower and leisure problems suggests that we have little time to improve the opportunity for continuous learning by all segments of society.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction, pp. 1-8

1. We are concerned with the United States situation, but adult education is also of growing interest and importance in foreign countries. Cf. A. S. M. Hely, New Trends in Adult Education (UNESCO Monograph in Education, 1962) and M. David, Adult Education in Yugoslavia (UNESCO Monograph in Education, 1962).
2. C. Hartley Grattan, In Quest of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Adult Education (Association Press, 1955).
3. Malcolm S. Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), p. 251.
4. John W. C. Johnstone, Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Education Pursuits of American Adults, Report No. 89 (National Opinion Research Center/University of Chicago, 1963).
5. John W. C. Johnstone, "Adult Uses of Education: Fact and Forecast," a paper delivered at a conference on the Sociological Backgrounds of Adult Education, (Syracuse University, October, 1963), p. 38. Mimeo.
6. Harold F. Clark, Cost and Quality in Public Education (Monograph in The Economics and Politics of Public Education #5: Syracuse University, 1963), p. 5 and U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1962 (Eighty-third edition.) Washington, D. C., 1962, Table no. 139, p. 111.
7. Saturday Review, September 21, 1963, p. 63.
8. Floud and Halsey make this point when they stated that ". . . nearly all the energy which has gone into the study of this function of education [promoting of mobility, occupational and social, through adult education] has so far been lavished on schools and 'ful-time' universities rather than institutions of adult education." See Jean Floud and A. H. Halsey, "The Sociology of Education," Current Sociology, vol. VII, no. 3, 1958 (London: Basil Blackwell), p. 191.
9. While credit courses in university extension programs strive toward duplicating the campus curriculum designed for the full-time student, non-credit programs tend to move away from this model toward the development of a uniquely "adult" curriculum. Some of the most creative programming in university extension programs has been in the non-credit area.
10. Johnstone, Volunteers. . ., op. cit., p. 58. Johnstone's estimates of courses attended at different sponsoring institutions revealed that only 40 per cent were organized by colleges and universities, elementary and high schools, and private schools.
11. Saturday Review, May 18, 1963 issue devotes the monthly education supplement to the education of women; "The American Female: A special Supplement," Harper's Magazine, October, 1962; and Bernard H. Stern, Never Too Late for College: The Brooklyn Degree Program for Adults (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1963).
12. Joseph E. Gould, The Chautauqua Movement (State University of New York, 1961).
13. Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition (University of California Press, 1956); James A. Davis, A Study of Participants in the Great Books Program (Fund for Adult Education, 1960); and James A. Davis, Great Books and Small Groups, (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).
14. We engaged in this descriptive task because the literature on adult education is heavily biased toward case studies or the treatment of limited topics of interest. After the first draft of Part II was written, the NORC survey was published (Johnstone, Volunteers. . . op. cit.), and this survey describes the variation in participation on a national level. The reader is invited to compare our results with those of the NORC survey--in most instances the two concur to an amazing extent.
15. Mobility and Worker Adaptation to Economic Change in the United States. Manpower Research Bulletin No. 1, July, 1963 (Dept. of Labor, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training), revised July, 1963.
16. Johnstone, Volunteers. . ., op. cit.; Appendix 2: Findings From National Surveys of Adult Education; and Edmund deS. Brunner, Davis S. Wilder, Corinne Kirchner, and John S. Newberry, Jr., An Overview of Adult Education Research (Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1959), pp. 102-112, 116-118.
17. Jack London and Robert Wenkert, "Obstacles to Blue Collar Participation in Adult Education," chapter in William Gomberg & Arthur B. Shostak, (editors) The Blue Collar World (Prentice-Hall--in press).

18. Brunner, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 98 and Bernard Berelson, *The Library's Public* (Columbia University Press, 1949).

20. For American data see Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (1956), pp. 13-19; Mira Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (1946), pp. 686-698; Donald G. Hay, "The Social Participation of Households in Selected Rural Communities in the Northeast," *Rural Sociology*, 15 (1950), pp. 41-48; Murray Hausknecht, *The Joiners* (New York: Bedminster Press, 1962), pp. 23-24, 29-30, 38-39, 43-44, 58, 60, 64-65, 90; Charles R. Wright and Herbert Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (1958); W. Lloyd Warner, et. al., *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York: Harper, 1949), Ch. 9; William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959), pp 70-71.

    For a bibliography of foreign studies showing the same results see Hausknecht, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Renate Mayntz, "Leisure, Social Participation, and Political Activity," *International Social Science Journal*, 12 (1960), pp. 561-574; Floyd Dotson, "A Note on Participation in Voluntary Associations in a Mexican City," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (1953), pp. 380-386; Erik Allardt and P. Pesonen, "Finland," *International Social Science Journal*, 12 (1960), pp. 27-39; S. Rokkan, "Electoral Activity, Party Membership and Organizational Influence," *Acta Sociologica*, 4 (1959), pp. 25-37; etc.

21. S. M. Lipset and Joan Gordon, "Mobility and Trade Union Membership," in Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset, eds., *Class, Status and Power* (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1953), pp. 491-500.

22. W. A. Anderson, *Social Participation of Rural Non-Farm Adults* (Cornell University Agricultural Station, 1958), *Bulletin 328 and Jack London and Robert* Wenkert, "Leisure Styles and Adult Education," paper read at the 1963 meetings of the American Sociological Association, August, 1963.

23. M. Axelrod, "A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in Large Urban Communities," Ph. D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1954 and Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

24. Lotte Radermacher and Elias Smith, "The Affinity of Occupation and Subject Matter Among Adult Education Students," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, eds. *The Language of Social Research* (Free Press of Glencoe, 1955), pp. 100-106.

25. Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.* pp. 426-442.

26. Ely Chinoy, *Automobile Workers and the American Dream* (Doubleday, 1955).

27. R. Clyde White, "Social Class Differences in the Use of Leisure," *American Journal of Sociology* (September, 1955).

28. Davis, *op. cit.*

Chapter 2: *Oakland, A City of Promise*, pp. 9-21

1. Mel Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 33.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

3. John W. Caughey, *California*. (2nd edition, 1953), p. 126.

4. *The Oakland Tribune*, January 15, 1907, p. 6.

5. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

6. Oakland Tribune, April 27, 1906 as quoted in Scott, Ibid., p. 123.

7. Oakland Enquirer, July 28, 1906, p. 4 as quoted in Ibid., p. 124.

8. R. Bryce Young, Oakland Changing Community Patterns (Oakland: City Planning Department, 1961). Mimeographed.

9. Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line (Doubleday, 1908), p. 53.

10. Gunnar Myrdal, American Dilemma (Harper & Row, 1944), p. 879.

11. "What's Ahead in the Population Boom," U.S. News and World Report, May 6, 1963, p. 70.

12. Table 131, Part D, Population Census: Detailed Characteristics, California, 1960. Bureau of the Census.

13. Edgar J. Hinkel and William E. McCann, editors, Oakland 1852-1938, (published by The Oakland Public Library as an official report of a Works Pregress Administration Project, 1939) in two vols., Vol. II, p. 459.

14. William Warren Ferrier, Ninety Years of Education in California--1846-1936 (Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Shop, 1937, p. 76.

15. Hinkel and McCann, op. cit., p. 463.

16. Ibid., p. 475.

17. Ferrier, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

18. Ibid., p. 129.

19. Mel Scott, Partnership in the Arts: Public and Private Support of Cultural Activities in the San Francisco Bay Area (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, 1963), p. 36.

20. Ibid.

21. Frances Buxton and Sumika Yamashita, "Oakland: A Literary Retrospect," California Librarian (October, 1961).

22. Anselm Strauss, Images of the City (Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

23. Adna A. Denison, Sunset Magazine, March, 1907.

24. Adrian R. MacFarland, "Oakland Can--And Will--Be Great," What Oakland Needs to Make It Great. (A symposium by various members of the Oakland Rotary Club and reprinted from "The Live Oak,"--weekly bulletin of the Oakland Rotary Club, undated but probably 1946), p. 4.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., p. 19.

27. Eugene Burdick, "San Francisco: The Metropolis," Holiday, April, 1961, p. 74.

28. "Editorial: San Francisco," Holiday, April, 1961, p. 67.

29. Ibid., p. 106.

30. Allan Temko, "A Dream of Splendor for Oakland," San Francisco Chronicle, April 30, 1962.

31. Bernard Taper, "Annals of Crime," New Yorker, January 17, 1959, p. 33.

32. Jerry Belcher, "Where is Oakland Going?", San Francisco Examiner, December 9, 1962, p. 26.

Chapter 3: Educational Opportunities for Adults in Oakland, pp. 22-27.

1. The NORC national study reported 40 per cent of adult education courses sponsored by educational groups. Cf. John W. C. Johnstone, Volunteers for Learning. . ., p. 58. In our community survey, presented in Chapter 4, 61 per cent of the respondents were enrolled in educational institutions for adult instruction. It appears, therefore, that Oakland's non-educational organizations and agencies provide fewer opportunities for adult education than is typical of the United States.

2. Burton Clark, Adult Education in Transition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), p. 111.

3. Ibid., pp. 111-118.

4. Annual Report of the Adult Education Program. Oakland Public Schools: Adult Education Department. (December 12, 1961). Unpublished.

5. Michael Harrington, The Other America, 1962 and Statement of Joseph P. Lyford at Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U. S. Senate, 88th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: G. P. O., 1963), p. 1179.

6. A. A. Liveright and Roger DeCrow, New Directions in Degree Programs Especially for Adults (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1963).

7. Grace S. Wright, Persistence of Attendance in Adult Education Classes, U. S. Office of Education, No. 353 (October, 1952).

8. Robert A. Luke, "Adult Education and Low Income Families," Adult Education, 7 (Autumn, 1956), p. 36.

9. Edward Olds, Financing Adult Education in America's Public Schools and Community Councils (Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1954).

10. The Oakland statistics exclude the large number of adults who enroll in the regular junior college program. This would not create a problem normally, since no junion college adult students are included in Table I-13. However, some of the programs which are provided in other cities by public adult schools are given in Oakland by the junior college system. To compensate for this it is possible to add the daily average attendance of adults in junior college (legally defined as students 21 years old or older and enrolled for 10 hours or less per week) to the A. D. A. statistic in the table. This would bring the A. D. A. figure for Oakland to 1,846 units, and would raise the ratio of attendance per 10,000 adults from 33.0 to 74.5, which is still substantially below most of the other California cities cited in Table I-13.

Chapter 4: The Meaning of Adult Education and Variety in Participation, pp. 28-39.

1. Even so, there are activities whose purpose is to educate, but which are not ordinarily referred to as adult education. One example of such activity is psychotherapy. It would take us too far afield to discuss this interesting exception, but we may point out that (1) psychiatrists use different methods than do educational institutions, (2) the subject matter of the sessions is the participant himself rather than a body of information, (3) there is usually only one participant instead of a group of "learners," (4) the matters discussed are normally private and personal, and (5) psychiatrists, as relatively autonomous specialists, are professionally devoted to protecting their autonomy. Nevertheless, from the societal point of view the function of psychotherapy is similar to some of the functions of adult education, namely, to enable the participant to engage in everyday activity with a maximum of productivity.

2. Glen Burch, Accent on Learning (The Fund for Adult Education, 1960), p. III; C. Hartley Grattan, In Quest of Knowledge (New York: Association Press, 1955), pp. 3-17; and Malcolm S. Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), p. vi.

3. The higher proportion of non-educational organizations sponsoring adult education reported by our organizational study in Chapter 3 contrasts with the Community Survey where 50 per cent of the participants attend programs outside of Oakland.

Chapter 5: Variation in the Gross Participation Rate, pp. 40-63.

1. For a methodological discussion of this point, see Robert Wenkert, "Reply," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 6 (Spring, 1961), pp. 109-112.

2. Cf. Appendix 2 and U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Participation in Adult Education," Circular No. 539, (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1959).

3. The information on Negro organizational memberships is somewhat ambiguous. Of the three studies reported by Hausknecht, one showed Negroes to have a higher proportion of organizational memberships, the other showed the reverse, and the third had Negro and white memberships about equal. However, none of these controlled the effect of education. See Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners (New York: Bedminster Press, 1962), p. 62. The evidence for Negro educational aspirations and attitudes is much more solid. See Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 47-60. (also Fortune, #76, September, 1949).

Chapter 6: Variations in the Refined Participation Rates, pp. 64-83.

1. Because two different populations are involved, it may be that the associations which obtain in the population as a whole will not obtain among the participants alone. For a general methodological discussion of this possibility see W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 351-357.

Chapter 7: A Note on the Matched Sample, pp. 84-87.

1. Cf. John W. C. Johnstone, Volunteers for Learning (Chicago: University of Chicago, National Opinion Research Center, February, 1963).

2. The cumulative participation index is not a satisfactory ordered scale and would not be one even if we knew the number of courses ever taken by all the men interviewed. A man's having taken a single course five years ago is not the same thing as his taking one currently, because it may not be related to his current status in the same way. For example, married men may be more likely to have taken dancing lessons at one time or another in their lifetimes, but only single men may be taking such lessons currently.

Chapter 8: Participation and Leisure Styles, pp. 88-105.

1. Note that these percentages are only useful comparatively, not absolutely. Since this is a matched sample and does not represent a true population, the level of participation is not representative of any population. However, the association between number of memberships and adult education participation is, in our view, representative of the general population.

2. H. A. Clegg and Rex Adams, Trade Union Education (London: Workers' Educational Association, 1959), pp. 48-50; A. H. Thornton, "Liberal Studies for Factory Workers," Adult Education, 35 (September, 1962).

Chapter 9: Participation and the Character of Employment, pp. 106-120.

1. On the growing importance of professionals in industry and government see William Kornhauser, Scientists in Industry: Conflict and Accomodation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp.2-7.

2. This is partly suggested by the greater drop-out rate between the Community and Matched Sample surveys for the non-vocationally oriented. In the former, 52 per cent of the participants were vocationally oriented, while in the latter the proportion increased to 65 per cent. This suggests that non-vocational education is less easily recalled and more easily identified as something other than "education."

3. See, for example, National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 418.

4. C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York: Galaxy, 1956), Ch. 8 and 9.

5. This is true for the professions. Arthur Stinchcombe suggests that it is also true of skilled workers in the construction industry, in his "Bureaucratic and Craft Administration of Production: A Comparative Study," Administrative Sciences Quarterly, 4 (September, 1959), pp. 168-187.

6. In this and the following descriptions of deviant cases, not all but only the "most deviant: will be considered. For example, 17 professionals said they did not study at home for their jobs, but only the three who had not taken vocationally-oriented courses have been selected for special attention. Space does not permit consideration of all 17.

7. C. Wright Mills, op. cit., p. 243f., suggests this is true of clerical and sales workers, and Harold Wilensky, "Work, Careers, and Social Integration," International Social Science Journal, 12 (Fall, 1960), p. 19, suggests it is becoming true of manual workers.

8. This suggests the existence of more or less distinct ladders of social mobility for manual and non-manual workers. Cf. S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 14-17, 165-169.

9. It seems likely that the figures result from misperceptions rather than a faulty sample, because lower manual workers in the sample were more likely than others to have experienced unemployment in the recent past. When asked about their work experience during the last ten years, 55 per cent of the semi-skilled workers said they had been unemployed, as compared to 36 per cent of the foremen and skilled workers and 30 per cent of the professionals and managers.

10. Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 177f.

11. The agreement with Lipset and Bendix is remarkable, since the two samples are not directly comparable. The age bias in the matched sample probably reduced the proportion who have been self-employed, while the restriction to middle- income census tracts probably increased it.

12. See, e.g., Arnold Rose, Union Solidarity (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952).

13. Cf. Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in his Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), esp. pp. 144-146.

14. This could be expected in American society, not necessarily in others. In those European countries, such as Austria, which had a strongly organized socialist movement, the working class unions and political parties sponsored extensive educational programs. In such societies, alienation from the dominant political and economic system might have been associated with higher rates of participation in adult education among manual workers. Cf. Charles A. Gulick, Austria from Hapsburg to Hitler, Vol. I, Labor's Workshop at Democracy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), pp. 644-682.

15. Other studies have shown that small businessmen are especially likely to become alienated in American society--their societal and economic statuses are usually insecure, and this strongly influences their political behavior. See Martin Trow, "Small Businessmen, Political Tolerance, and Support for McCarthy," American Sociological Review, 64 (1958), pp. 270-281.

16. S. M. Lipset, "American Intellectuals: Their Politics and Status," in his Political Man (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960), Ch. X.

17. Again, for reasons of space only a portion of the apparently deviant cases will be considered. Young low-skill workers who want to change jobs, but who are not enrolled in courses to aid them for this change, are more "deviant" than older workers in the same situation because they should find it easier to make a change. Hence, only the younger are considered here.

18. Burton R. Clark, "The Cooling-Out Function in Higher Education," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 569-576. See also Michael Young's delightful fantasy, The Rise of the Meritocracy (Penguin Books, 1962), where adult education is treated in part as a "safety-valve" for a rigidly stratified society.

19. The critical reader may feel that the statistical tables presented should have been revised to take errors such as this (or the preceding two cases) into account. However, to retabulate only cases which do not conform to hypotheses without examining in a similar close manner cases which conform to hypotheses would be a highly misleading, a posteriori manipulation of the worst sort. Incidentally, most of the errors were not the result of "sloppy" data manipulations. All keypunching was "verified" (performed twice), and most coding errors are debateable--such as whether or not case 1029 should have been coded as a "manager." In this case the coder followed strict specifications laid down beforehand. In other cases (such as the journeyman plumber referred to earlier) only a close reading of the entire interview transcript revealed the man's journeyman status--it was not evident in his response to the question about his current occupation.

It should be evident from the preceding remarks that the qualitative examination of apparently deviant cases can lead to only the most tentative conclusions. We have shown that most apparent exceptions can be shown to be only apparent. We have not shown that most cases which appear to conform to hypotheses actually do; conforming cases have not been dealt with in the same intensive manner.

20. Not all apparent exceptions to the generalizations were considered, so this statement must remain tentative. In particular, the analysis of deviant cases did not include such occupational groups as small businessmen, skilled workers, or protective service workers.

21. Even if adult education were totally ineffective in helping men to maintain or enhance their statuses, participation would be "rational" if men perceived it to be effective. "Rationality," as Weber pointed out, does not require "scientifically valid" information about the situation. Cf. Max Weber, The Methodology of the Social Sciences (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 40.

22. Robert Dubin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds: A Study of the Central Life Interests of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, 3 (January, 1956), pp. 131-142.

Chapter 10: Participation and Prior Educational Experiences, pp. 121-129.

1. Ralph H. Turner, "Sponsored and Contest Mobility," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), pp. 855-867; and Burton R. Clark, "The Cooling-Out Process in Higher Education," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 569-576.

2. Talcott Parsons has argued that in high school the adolescent population is "bifurcated" into groups which continue on to college and groups which immediately enter the labor market, and he has suggested that the type of high school course pursued is very important in this regard. See Parsons, "The High School Class as a Social System," in A. H. Halsey, J. Floud, and C. A. Anderson (eds.), Education, Economy, and Society (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 434-455. However, the type of high school course influences participation in adult education only through its effects on entry into college.

3. Cf. Dael Wolfe, "Educational Opportunity, Measured Intelligence, and Social Background," in Halsey, Floud, and Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-240, especially p. 223.

4. See *ibid.*, and William Sewell, A. O. Haller, and M. A. Strauss, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67-73, and the references cited there.

5. Robert A. Luke, "Public School Adult Education," in Malcolm S. Knowles (ed.), *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States* (Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1960), Ch. 29 and especially p. 345.

6. Father's education, which is another ascribed component of social status, has no simple relation to participation in adult education. In general, participation rates are highest for men whose fathers were either very well or very poorly educated.

7. Harry S. Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

8. According to the 1960 census, 23 per cent of the migration into Oakland is from the south. U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Income, Education, and Unemployment in Neighborhoods-Oakland* (January, 1963), Table A-1, p. 26-1.

Chapter 11: *Knowledge About and Evaluation of Adult Education*, pp. 130-139.

1. Cf. Charles Edward Chapman, *Some Characteristics of the Adult Part-Time Students Enrolled in the Public Schools of Contra Costa County, California, During the Fall Term, 1957*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of California (Berkeley), 1959, pp. 50-54.

2. Davis did not find an appreciably higher dropout rate for low-status than for high-status participants in Great Books programs, although the dropout rate did tend to be higher in *groups* where the proportion of low-status persons was high. His measurement of status *is not* clear, however; his category of "low status" probably includes many persons we would have classified as high-status. Cf. James A. Davis, *Great Books and Small Groups* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961), p. 146.

3. We found it surprising but true that manual workers spend less time at their work, on the average, than non-manual workers. This finding is not a peculiarity of our sample, but was also reported for the national labor force by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings* (September, 1963), p. 10:

WHITE COLLAR	41.8 hours/wk	BLUE COLLAR	40.9 hours/wk
Professionals	42.4	Foremen & Skilled	42.3
Managers, etc.	48.9	Operatives	41.7
Clerical	38.2	Laborers (non-farm)	35.2
Sales	38.1	Service	35.7

4. In answer to another question, manual workers who participated in adult education were more apt than white collar participants to report that their friends "discouraged or kidded them" about it. Among 177 manual participants, 14 per cent reported being "kidded," as compared to 10 per cent among the white collar participants.

5. Many adult schools provide a testing program which enables adults to secure credit by taking the General Educational Development Test. In addition, many adult schools give credit for work experience. However, while adult education agencies may try to minimize the burden of excessive requirements, many adults with severe educational deficiencies may be unaware of these shortcut procedures. A new program primarily for adults is the College Proficiency Examination developed in the State of New York to give credit-by-examination to those who can prove their proficiency in specific subjects through arrangements with over a hundred of New York's colleges and universities.

6. See Arthur L. Stinchcombe, *Social Sources of Rebellion in a High School*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of California (Berkeley), 1960; and Carl

Werthman, "Delinquents in Schools: A Test for Legitimacy of Authority," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 8 (1963), pp. 39-60.

7. This interpretation is supported by Carey's study of dropouts from university evening courses. He was able to compare responses of men and women. Men were more likely to complain of the instructor's preparation (34% of the men, 20% of the women) and also that the level of instruction was too low (17% of the men, 10% of the women). These differences probably arise because of the greater tendency by women than by men to defer to the authority of the teachers. James T. Carey, Why Students Drop Out (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1953).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Research Design and Execution. 164

Appendix 2: Findings From National Surveys of Adult Education. . . 189

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Appendix I: RESEARCH DESIGN AND EXECUTION

The purpose of this study was to explore in detail the relations between social class and participation in adult education. Any study which attempts to investigate behavior engaged in by only a small proportion of the population faces two problems: (1) efficiently locating a representative sample of participants, and (2) finding a comparable population of non-participants.

The most obvious place to discover participants in adult education is in the schools. However, such an approach has serious disadvantages. No matter how inclusive one attempts to be, participants in the schools are unlikely to be representative of all participants. (Sampling bias would be especially serious when an important hypothesis to be tested is that some types of agencies are especially attractive or unattractive to men from different social classes.) As our results have shown , at least a third of all men who participate in adult education do so in non-educational institutions.

Second, sampling participants through educational agencies makes it impossible to sample a comparable group of non-participants, because the population which an agency serves may be restricted to persons of particular ages, occupations, religions, and so forth. Therefore, it is necessary to sample participants in the open community. The most economical way to do this is to first locate participants as inexpensively as possible and then return to them and a comparable sample of non-participants and obtain detailed information.

This was the approach followed here. Participants in adult education were located in selected parts of Oakland. To do this inexpensively, it was decided to use telephone interviews and to accept information about the activities of men from others besides the men themselves. The participants thus located were matched on age and occupation with an equivalent group of non-participants, and these men were interviewed again at much greater length. The different phases of the survey took place over a period of more than a year; some of the consequences of this will be discussed below.

Phase	Period
Preliminary Pilot Survey	16 March 1961 - 17 April 1961
Community Survey	24 October 1961 - 1 March 1962
Matched Sample Survey	23 April 1962 - 5 August 1962

In this appendix we shall first describe the procedures used in each of the phases of the study. Then we shall consider some of the problems we encountered and their implications for future studies. We will conclude with a short note on the sampling of adult education institutions, among whom we also conducted a short survey.

SAMPLE SELECTION AND INTERVIEWING TECHNIQUES

Sample Selection: Details of the Preliminary Pilot Survey

A préliminary locator survey was conducted to pretest the interview guide and to determine the feasibility of locating male participants by means of an open community survey. A probability sample was drawn from predominantly white, middle-income census tracts in

Oakland.* The sample included 849 housing units, and contacts were completed with 86% of them. Up to three calls were made to complete the enumeration of each housing unit, although no call-backs were made in cases of refusals. Only 2% of the sampled units refused interviews, and 10% of them were not at home after three calls had been made. In the 849 sampled housing units, 605 men over the age of twenty were located, 17% of whom participated in some form of adult education according to the definition which was used. (Self-instruction was classified as participation--the consequences of this will be discussed below.)

The preliminary survey indicated the feasibility of using an open community survey to locate participants, provided a preliminary estimate of the proportion of Oakland men who were participants, and gave some indications of the cost of future interviewing.

On the basis of this survey the sample was restricted to men aged 20 to 59, who were not full-time students nor institutionalized, and who resided in selected areas of Oakland. The lower age limit of 20 was selected because most men have by that time finished full-time secondary education. The upper age limit of 59 was selected because participation in adult education and in the labor force drops significantly after that. (The pilot survey showed that fewer than 6% of 140 men over 59 were participants.) It was felt that the costs of finding participants in the older age groups would be high and that information obtained from them would be of relatively little value in accounting for relations between social class and participation. Full-time students were also excluded, although they form a large proportion of the population in the younger age groups.

Only those census tracts which were in the middle of the average income distribution were included in the population studied. At the extremes of the income distribution interviewing expenses increase sharply, and the cost of locating participants in the lower income areas would be especially high. The exclusion of men in high income areas was justified in addition on the ground that information from them would not be especially valuable in accounting for differences in the participation rates of manual workers and typical white collar workers. (It was hoped initially to sample these areas lightly, not so much to locate participants as to be able to describe the city as a whole more adequately. This plan was dropped when expenses for interviewing in other areas proved to be higher than expected.)

Although our results are not from a sample of all Oakland men in the age groups studied, this does not seriously vitiate our findings; Oakland itself is in some respects an "arbitrary unit" for the purposes of a study like this. Just as some Oakland men take courses in other cities (more than half of the recent participants contacted), so men from other cities attend classes in Oakland. The "natural unit" for a study of this sort would be at least an entire metropolitan area; for the purposes of providing explanations for variation in participation rates, less inclusive areas are satisfactory.

Sample Selection: Details of the Community Survey

A multi-stage probability sample was used in the Community Survey. Census tracts were sampled first; city blocks in tracts were sampled second; and housing units in blocks were sampled third. All eligible men in each housing unit were to be interviewed.

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* The 49 census tracts out of Oakland's 99 which had fewer than 25% non-whites and for which the median value of owner-occupied dwellings was between $10,000 and $20,000 constituted the population of tracts. (1950 census data were used.) These tracts were stratified into six groups by value of housing, and three tracts in each stratum were selected randomly, a total of 18 census tracts. Within each sampled tract two contiguous blocks were selected at random, and every male over 20 in every other housing unit in these blocks was to be contacted and interviewed.

Selection of Census Tracts

Data from the 1960 Census were used as the basis for tract selection. Oakland has 99 census tracts and tract divisions, but, for the purposes of the sample, tracts with fewer than 700 men aged 20 to 59 were combined with adjacent tracts so that all "tracts" used for sampling purposes would be about equal in size. This was done so that the proportion of participants per tract could be used as a variable in later analysis. Such analysis was not performed because of the small number of participants located in some tracts and the relatively small variation of the participation rate among tracts. (See Chapter 4, Table II-16.) "Tract", in this report, refers to the sampled units, which in some cases includes more than one "census tract". After some tracts were combined, 82 remained, and these were ranked on the basis of mean rental of renter occupied dwellings and divided into five groups. The tracts finally included in the sample include those in which mean monthly rental ranges from $56 to $95.

TABLE 1. STRATIFICATION OF TRACTS

Stratum	Mean rent	Number of tracts	Number of men, 20-59	% of Oakland men 20-59	
I	$37-$55	14	14,053	15.8%	Not sampled
II	56- 70	22	24,435	27.4	
III	72- 79	20	22,336	25.0	sampled 74.2%
IV	80- 95	18	19,410	21.8	
V	101- 142	8	8,774	9.9	Not sampled

Within each of the three sampled strata, eight tracts were selected systematically with a random start, with the probability of inclusion being proportional to the number of men aged 20-59. Two of the eight tracts in each stratum were selected at random and eliminated from the sample before the interviewing began when it became apparent that the budget would not permit completion of the original plan. Thus, 18 tracts were selected for the survey. These were the following:

Stratum II: 5A+5B, 7B, 10, 49, 57A+57B, 66B+68A
Stratum III: 4, 38, 47A+47B, 58, 64, 70B+70C
Stratum IV: 27+28, 30, 34, 44, 61, 68C

Selection of City Blocks

The goal of the Community Survey was to obtain at least 600 men divided about equally between white collar and manual workers. Since it was known that rates of participation were lower among manual workers, and, inferentially, in tracts with low mean rents, it was decided to sample more heavily in the low rental strata. We also anticipated that it might be slightly more difficult to obtain interviews from men in low rental strata, and this was taken into consideration in assigning the number of blocks per tract.

Thus, we determined the number of blocks to be sampled in each tract on the basis of (1) the proportion of men in the tract who were manual workers, (2) the proportion of men in each stratum who participated in adult education (as estimated from the pilot survey), (3) the number of men 20-59 living in the tract, and (4) the number of blocks in it. After the number of blocks in each tract was ascertained, the required number was selected randomly without replacement.

With such a design it would usually be necessary to weight results by the number of men in each stratum in order to obtain rates applicable to the population. This has not been done above because we were less successful than anticipated in obtaining interviews in low rental strata. The proportion of men in our sample from each sampled stratum is within one percentage point of the proportion of all Oakland men from each. The result is equivalent to what would have been obtained if we had sampled from each stratum in proportion to its population of men aged 20-59. Therefore no weighting has been necessary.

Selection of Housing Units and Sample Males

All housing units (using the census definition) in each of the selected blocks was listed by the field staff (i.e., street addresses and mail box names or apartment numbers were recorded) before the interviewing began. (Units with transient dwellers, such as hotels, hospitals, or homes for the aged, were excluded from the sample.) Every other housing unit was selected for contact (odd-numbered units were selected for odd-numbered blocks, even-numbered for even-numbered blocks). Every eligible male in each selected housing unit was to be interviewed.

Field Procedures in the Community Survey: Informants

Two procedures were followed in the Community interviewing which introduced a serious risk of error: the use of informants other than the sampled male and the use of telephone interviews. Both procedures were used to minimize the cost of locating participants, and neither introduced a large error in responses. It was felt that small errors could be tolerated, since the later Matched Sample Survey would enable us to discover and correct them.

The use of wives and other household members as informants was felt to be justified, since in most cases these persons would be well informed about the educational activities of the sample male, his age, and his occupation. (We expected more error in reports about the sample male's leisure activities and income, but these variables were not critically important in the Community Survey.) Most interviews were held with either the sampled male or his wife:

TABLE 2. INFORMANTS IN THE COMMUNITY SURVEY

Sampled male	42%
His wife	46
Other male member of family	4
Other female member of family	8
Landlady, etc.	0.1
Other	0.5
	100%
	(2710)

The available comparisons indicate that wives were adequate informants. Some of the results are summarised in Table 3.

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES FROM DIFFERENT INFORMANTS

Item	Interviews where informant was. . . Sample male	His wife	Someone else
Per cent participating in adult education	14% (1129)	12% (1247)	8% (334)
Dropout of participants between Community and Matched Sample Surveys	37% (120)	41% (127)	27% (22)
Percent viewing TV 2 hours or more daily	41% (1124)	43% (1229)	48% (324)
Percent visiting relatives or neighbors once a week or more	62% (1119)	63% (1202)	69% (315)

Both the similarity in the distributions of responses to a number of items and the similarity in inconsistencies between the two phases of the survey suggest that wives were accurate informants. (Men for whom the informant was "someone else" might be quite different in other respects--unmarried, quite young or old, etc. Differences between such interviews and others need not arise from informant errors.) The small differences in participation rates and drop-out rates suggests quite clearly that using wives as informants introduces an error which is small compared to other errors in measurement.

Field Procedures in the Community Survey: Telephoned Interviews

Previous studies have shown that telephoned interviews can be used very economically to obtain simple types of information from respondents.[*] Telephone interviewing also has other advantages: it makes it easy to call back sampled units when no response is obtained on the first or later calls. On the other hand, such interviews usually must be supplemented by field interviews for those without listed telephone numbers, and if this group is large the economic advantage of telephone interviews is sharply reduced. We attempted first to complete all interviews by telephone and only sent interviewers into the field for sampled units which could not be contacted this way.

Interviewers were carefully screened and trained, and fifteen were eventually hired. The interviewing was done primarily in two different time periods: from October 24th to December 15th, and from January 10th to March 1st; no interviews were attempted in the Holiday season. Shortly after the field work began the less efficient and accurate interviewers were dismissed, mostly as an economy measure. The interviews themselves were short. (See Forms A and B, Appendix 4.) Most were completed in less than 10 minutes, and only 4% (of 5181 housing units contacted) took more than 15 minutes.

After the survey had been in the field about a month, it became apparent that costs had been seriously underestimated. Four reasons can be adduced for this, which was unexpected in light of the success of the pilot survey and other attempts at telephone interviewing.

(1) A change in the population to be covered raised costs per completed interview. The preliminary survey included men over 60 years old, and a great many housing units consist only of elderly couples or unmarried men. As a result, more than 46% of the housing units contacted did not yield a male to be included in our sample. A survey which obtained a usable interview from every household contacted would have had a marginal cost per interview about half as large as ours.

(2) A large proportion of the housing units in Oakland at the time of the interview did not have listed telephones. Only 68% of 3165 occupied housing units where interviews were completed[**] had listed telephones. This proportion is lower than that found in other studies; Mitchell, for example, reported that the proportion of households with listed phone numbers

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[*] Glen H. Mitchell, "Telephone Interviewing," Dept. of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, Ohio, Department Mimeograph Series No. A.E. 279, November 1957. J. Stevens Stock, "Surveying Consumer Buying Plans," The Conference Board Business Record, vol. 15, No. 12, December 1958.

[**] The percentage was computed only for tracts where both phone and field interviews were used. See below.

in the larger Ohio cities ranges between 85% and 91%*.

(3) The rate of refusal on telephoned interviews was high. In areas where both telephone and field interviews were used, the initial rate of refusal by telephone was 11%, which represented 418 housing units. When field interviewers were assigned to these units, interviews were completed in 63% of them. This suggests an unwillingness to be interviewed by telephone somewhat higher than that reported by previous studies. Mitchell suggests that refusals should not run over 5%, while Stock suggests that refusals range from 7% to 15% of all attempted interviews (although they can be reduced to about 4% by repeated call backs).** Oakland may be a difficult city in which to interview. It is possible that the telephone refusal rate might have been reduced by revising the interview guide, but only at the cost of biasing some questions or lengthening the interview.***

The discovery of unanticipated budget problems after the first month of the survey led us to revise our sample by reducing the number of field interviews assigned. Obviously this involved a serious risk of bias, although our procedures were planned to take this into account.

The procedure was to divide each sampled tract into quadrants containing approximately equal numbers of housing units. Two diagonally opposite quadrants were selected, by the flip of a coin, for follow-up contacts in the field. In the two remaining quadrants no attempts were made to contact housing units which did not have listed telephones or where informants refused to give information over the telephone.

This economy step meant that about 1400 projected field interviewing assignments were not made; about 17% fewer housing units were contacted than could have been expected under the original plan. Telephone interviews accounted for 72% of all completed interviews, but for the tract quadrants in which field interviews supplanted telephone interviews the latter constitute only 57% of the total. As a result, our sample is biased to the extent that men in residences with telephones differ from men in residences without them. Since the *Literary Digest* Poll disaster in the 1936 presidential election, survey researchers have been very sensitive to this sort of bias. However, Mitchell and Stock point out that the nature of the bias has changed considerably since 1936.

In 1936 only about only 30% of U.S. households owned telephones, so that telephone ownership tended to be an indicator of high economic status. Today at least 80% of U.S. households have telephones, and in cities like Oakland the figure is probably over 90%.# The problem for the survey researcher is not so much that households do not have telephones as that the numbers are not listed. Mitchell investigated 61 households in the greater Columbus, Ohio, area which

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*Mitchell, *op. cit*., p. 9.

**Mitchell, *op. cit*., p. 14; Stock, *op. cit*., pp. 559f.

***Refusal rates can also be reduced by "preparing" the sample with a letter or a personal interview. This technique has been used by the California Department of Public Health with regard to very delicate matters (such as cervical cancer). However, costs of preparing samples this way reduce the economic advantages of telephone interviewing.

#Stock, *op. cit*., p. 548; Mitchell, *op. cit*., p. 9.

did not have listed telephone numbers and found the following reasons:

TABLE 4. REASONS FOR LACK OF TELEPHONE*

No telephone	5%
Moved and not yet in directory	36
"Didn't want to be bothered" with phone	19
Illness in the family	9
Wished to avoid solicitors	9
"Family troubles"	6
Didn't want to be bothered by customers or clients	6
Other	10
Total	100

This suggests that the bias introduced by failure to contact households without telephones is not so much one of social class as the failure to contact mobile families; in any case, those with non-listed telephones are a very heterogeneous group.

We had planned on weighting interviews from men contacted by a field interviewer more highly than men contacted by telephone. However, since the difference in participation rates for the two types was small, weighting has not been critically important. (The gross participation rate in adult education which has been reported earlier in the text was 12.4%. If the results are weighted for failure to follow up interviews in the field where they were not completed by telephone, the gross rate drops to 11.7%.) Some comparisons between interviews completed by telephone and by field interview are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES FROM TELEPHONE AND FIELD INTERVIEWS

Item	Telephone Interview	Field Interview
Proportion participating in adult education	13.3% (2019)	9.8% (688)
Dropout of participants between Community and Matched Sample surveys	38% (209)	37% (49)
Proportion viewing TV 2 hours or more daily	39% (1895)	53% (644)
Proportion visiting neighbors or relatives once a week or more	65% (1855)	73% (644)
Proportion with at least some college education	33% (1973)	25% (668)
Proportion white collar of all employed	42% (1915)	35% (650)

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*Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 10f.

The bias introduced by our failure to attempt field interviews with half of those who could not be contacted by telephone is a bias in the direction of higher occupational and social status.[*]

Completion of the Community Survey

In order to locate 337 male participants in adult education it was necessary to contact 5182 housing units in the area sampled. The proportion of assignments which were completed is given in Table 6, along with the reasons for non-completion.

TABLE 6. SIZE AND COMPLETION OF THE COMMUNITY SURVEY SAMPLE

Housing units assigned for interviewing	7245	100%		
Housing units with completed interviews[**]	5182	72%		
Housing units not completed	2063	28%		
Refused to be interviewed			545	8%
Not at home[***]			370	5%
Not contacted: no listed phone			1148	16%
Sampled males contacted	2708	(.52 per housing unit)		
Participants located	337	(.065 per housing unit)		

[**] Where field interviews were assigned, 118 or 4% (of 3283) housing units were found to be vacant or demolished. These are counted as "completed" here.

[***] Includes cases of postponed interviews not later completed.

Generalizing from the Community Survey

Statistical tests and confidence limits have not been used in this report. This is partly for technical reasons: no simple techniques exist for multi-stage samples such as this one, many hypotheses were formulated after looking at the data, and so forth.[#] More importantly, errors due to random sampling variability in this study are almost certainly much smaller than errors derived from other sources. These are (1) errors introduced because not all interviews assigned were completed, (2) errors introduced by using telephone interviews, and (3) errors introduced by question unreliability. The last source of error will be discussed in detail below. Here we should simply like to show that data obtained from the Community sample are very similar to data obtained by the U.S. Census of 1960 when the two can be compared.

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[*] The preceding discussion has dealt with the sample bias introduced by telephone interviewing. It is also possible that telephone interviewing involves a response bias. Larsen reported a study in message diffusion in which persons were asked to mail in leaflets dropped from airplanes. Samples of persons in the same areas were then interviewed by telephone and by field interviews, and those interviewed were asked whether or not they had mailed in the leaflets which came into their possession. Those interviewed by telephone were much more likely to make invalid claims of having sent in leaflets than those contacted on a face-to-face basis. See Otto N. Larsen, "The comparative validity of telephone and face-to-face interviews in the measurement of message diffusion from leaflets," American Sociological Review (August, 1952) 17: 471-476. Thus, the higher proportion of participants among those interviewed by telephone in this study may represent a response bias as well as a sample bias.

[#] Cf. Hanan C. Selvin, "A critique of tests of significance in survey research," American Sociological Review (Oct. 1957) 22: 519-527.

These comparisons suggest that our sample is representative of the larger population in the sampled area. Relevant comparisons are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7. COMPARISON OF U.S. CENSUS
AND COMMUNITY SURVEY RESULTS

Variable	Middle stratum Census tracts*	Community Survey
Age distribution (men 20-59)		
20-29	24%	21%
30-39	25	23
40-49	26	27
50-59	25	28
Not ascertained	-	1
(N=100%)	(65,618)	(2,709)
Race (men 20-59)		
White	78%	75%
Non-white	22	25
Occupation of men**		
Professional, managerial, or proprietary	21%	23%
Clerical and sales	18	16
Manual workers	53	59
Service workers	8	2
(N=100%)	(63,516)	(2,238)

*Census data are from U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960, Final Report PHC(1)-137, San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Stastical Area.

**For the Census this includes all men aged 14 and over employed in the civilian labor force. More detailed breakdowns have not been given here, since our procedures of classification within the categories listed differed from those used by the census.

The Community Survey shows a slight deficit of men in the younger age groups. This was to be expected, since the population excludes full-time students, while such men are included in the Census figures. Even with this difference in populations, the Community and the Census figures are remarkably similar for occupation, age, and race. Some of the differences in occupation may be the result of different classification procedures. Thus, despite its deficiencies, the Community sample is probably representative of middle income areas in Oakland in most essential respects.

2. The Matched Sample Survey

The purpose of the Matched Sample Survey was to provide detailed data to help explain why some men participate in educational activities and others do not. The Community Survey, as well as previous studies, showed that occupation, formal education, and age were all strongly associated with participation. Thus, the Matched Sample Survey was not oriented to establishing these correlations, but to explaining why they exist. To help accomplish this we matched participants and non-participants by occupation. This assured having large enough groups of manual workers in each category to compute meaningful percentages. While the effects of age on participation are important, this study was not primarily oriented to investigating its effects. Thus age became something of a "nuisance variable" for us. We tried to take its effects into account by simultaneously matching participants and non-participants by age.

The procedure was to first cross-classify both participants and non-participants by age and occupation. This yielded the following table for participants.

TABLE 8. MATCHING FOR THE MATCHED SAMPLE SURVEY: DESIRED NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS

	Age				
Occupation	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Totals
Professional and managerial	17	37	18	18	90
Other white collar	31	15	26	12	84
Foremen & skilled workers	24	27	15	11	77
Other manual and service*	43	15	16	12	86
Totals	112	94	75	53	337

*Includes a small number of cases where occupations were not ascertained or could not be classified.

The sampling goal was to interview all the participants located and an equal number of non-participants in each of the sixteen age-occupation categories. Non-participants in each category were listed in random order and sampling was done from these lists. When participants could not be contacted, additional non-participants were selected to bring the total sample size up to 600, but this was done in such a way that the same proportion (if not the same number) of participants and non-participants would be in each age-occupation category.

The major advantage of this procedure is that participants and non-participants can be compared on some variable, say race, and one can be fairly certain that any relations found do not stem from the confounding effects of occupation or age. For example, if we did not match, a table might show that Negroes have lower participation rates than whites, but this would probably have occurred simply because Oakland Negroes are more likely to work in manual occupations than whites, and manual workers in general are less likely to participate. Given the type of matching we attempted to perform, this type of confounding need not be a cause of concern.

The procedure has obvious disadvantages. It means that the sample of non-participants is not a representative sample of Oakland men, but contains a larger proportion of young men and of men in white collar occupations than all Oakland middle rental tracts. However, this does not weaken the explanations we have given of participation in adult education, since we were interested in describing effects in addition to those of age and occupation.

At first the matching seemed successful. Table 9 shows that age and occupation are statistically independent of participation in the matched sample, as was planned in the design of the sample. However, the table uses the data reported in the Community Survey (and the matching had been done on the basis of these reports), so that the same table can also be presented using the data reported in the Matched Sample Survey (similar questions were asked in both surveys).

TABLE 9. AGE, OCCUPATION, AND PARTICIPATION: DATA FROM COMMUNITY SURVEY, RESPONDENTS FROM MATCHED SAMPLE SURVEY

	% participating in adult education				
	Age				
Occupation	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total
Upper white collar	46% (26)	46% (68)	47% (36)	45% (33)	46% (164)
Lower white collar	44% (52)	42% (26)	49% (45)	44% (25)	45% (148)
Upper manual	46% (41)	42% (52)	43% (28)	45% (20)	44% (141)
Lower manual	45% (60)	46% (28)	42% (26)	42% (19)	44% (133)
Total	46% (183)	45% (176)	46% (135)	45% (98)	46% (599)

Unfortunately, responses changed between the two surveys, so that part of the relation between occupation, age, and participation was re-introduced, and our matching was not as successful as we had originally envisioned (see Table 10).

TABLE 10. AGE, OCCUPATION, AND PARTICIPATION: DATA FROM MATCHED SAMPLE SURVEY, RESPONDENTS FROM MATCHED SAMPLE SURVEY

	% participating in adult education				
	Age				
Occupation	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total
Upper white collar	61% (28)	42% (53)	48% (35)	46% (26)	48% (143)
Lower white collar	33% (46)	32% (43)	36% (47)	15% (34)	30% (172)
Upper manual	43% (30)	40% (35)	28% (32)	12% (24)	32% (121)
Lower manual	38% (58)	33% (46)	17% (30)	15% (20)	29% (157)
Total	40% (167)	36% (178)	33% (144)	22% (104)	34% (599)

In most of our analysis of the Matched Sample Survey this means that we have either had to hold age and occupation constant or express our results with caution, knowing that they may be confounded by the effects of age and occupation. In the next section we shall discuss this problem in more detail.

Field Procedures in the Matched Sample Survey

Twelve interviewers were trained in two separate sessions and began interviewing in respondents' homes on April 23rd, 1962. The field work lasted until August 5th, when three interviewers were attempting to complete the sample by contacting those who could not be contacted earlier or who had refused to be interviewed earlier. Up to four calls were made to contact respondents, and if a respondent refused to be interviewed a different interviewer was assigned to him after a fortnight. The outcomes for the 787 men who were selected is shown in Table 11. This table suggests that most of the failures to complete the sample resulted from the fact that men moved between the two phases of the study. This means that one bias in the Community Survey, the failure to adequately sample highly mobile persons because they had no listed phone was aggravated in the Matched Sample Survey.

TABLE 11. OUTCOME OF THE MATCHED SAMPLE SURVEY

Total interviews assigned	787	100%		
Community participants			337	43%
Community non-participants			450	57%
Completed interviews	595	76%		
Completed with correct sample male			592	75%
Completed with incorrect sample male (included)			3	.4%
Completed with sample male who had become a full-time student (excluded)			1	.1%
Assignments not completed	191	24%		
Male could not be located (moved, no new address available)			59	7%
Moved out of sample area (no attempt to complete)			40	5%
Temporarily or permanently inaccessible (ill, dead, or out of town more than six months)			29	4%
Not home after four calls			21	3%
Refused to be interviewed (one attempt at conversion)			39	5%
Incomplete interview (broken off after first few questions; used to some extent in analysis)			3	.4%

PROBLEMS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

The problem of measuring participation in adult education is a continuing one. Americans now invest large sums in adult education, investments which are likely to increase in the future.

There is a need to know the extent and nature of participation for planning purposes and for evaluating the education obtained by the population. Hence, we can expect periodic surveys of participation in adult education something like the periodic surveys made into the state of the nation's health.

We present details about the measurement problems we have encountered in the hope that they will be useful for future investigations. Such studies will face two important problems: obtaining reliable data, and obtaining them economically. The economic problems we encountered have been discussed above. We concluded that it was possible to obtain reliable data about participation of all members of a household by talking to just one of them (the procedure used generally by the U.S. Census). We also concluded that economies through the use of telephone interviews are easily exaggerated; in general, budgets should be established so that interviews can be performed on a face-to-face basis.

In the remainder of this section we shall discuss the other problem which will be faced by those who attempt to measure participation, the problem of reliability. This has proved to be unexpectedly difficult.

The Problem of Reliability in Participation Measurement

The reliability of attitude or behavior measurements is likely to be especially problematical under either of two conditions. First, in "sensitive" areas of behavior respondents are likely to withhold or distort information; this is true, for example, of questions about deviant behavior and for questions about income.* Second, responses are likely to have low reliability when questions or response categories are vague; this is often the case in attitude studies, where feelings which have never been made explicit can be influenced easily by question wording, question ordering, or the non-verbal expressions of interviewers' feelings.**

We assumed at first that participation in adult education was a form of behavior which was neither "sensitive" nor unusually "vague". We thought some persons might attempt to impress interviewers by claiming to participate when they really had not, but we felt that our detailed questions about participation would enable us to detect most such deception. We were more concerned about excessively low estimates of participation because of tendencies to define "education" narrowly and to exclude participation in organized discussion groups, lecture series, and so forth. Our major concern regarding the reliability of the Community Survey was the use of telephones and informants other than the sampled person himself. Our early analyses reassured us about these procedures, since they revealed few large differences between groups approached in different ways.

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*Compare problems of measuring health and illness: the National Health Survey has encountered serious problems of underreporting illnesses and hospitalization. Unreliability may be greater for "sensitive" diseases than for respectable ones. For example, one survey showed that 21% of hospital episodes involving female breast or genital disorders were not reported as against only 5% of cases involving appendicitis. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Reporting of Hospitalization in the Health Interview Survey, Series D-No. 4 of Health Statistics from the U.S. National Health Survey (Washington, May 1961).

**However, Kish found that the interviewer contribution to the total variance of items was no greater for "sensitive" or ambiguous items than for other items in two surveys conducted by the Michigan Survey Research Center. Leslie Kish, "Studies of interviewer variance for attitudinal variables," Journal of the American Statistical Association (March 1962) 57: 92-115.

When the Matched Sample Survey was completed we had two independent measurements of what we considered to be the same behavior, participation in adult education. Table 12 shows that as indicators of the same variable our questions must be highly unreliable.

TABLE 12. PARTICIPATION ON THE COMMUNITY AND THE MATCHED SAMPLE SURVEYS

Time 2 - Matched Sample Survey	Time 1 - Community Survey Participants		Non-participants		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Participants	169	62%	34	11%	203	34%
Non-participants	102	38	287	89	389	66
Total	271	100	321	100	592	100

Only 77% of the respondents were classified the same way in both surveys. The "errors" are of two types, "additions" and "dropouts". Additions to the group of participants were to be expected, since men who started participating in the period between the Community and the Matched Sample surveys were defined as participants in the latter. This is not a problem of reliability but simply one of change in behavior. (Nevertheless, the size of the group of additions is larger than one would predict, given the knowledge that ten to fifteen percent of Oakland men are participants at any given time during the academic year.) Additions tend to be like participants when compared with non-participants: they are relatively young, well educated, and in relatively higher occupational groups.

The dropouts, those who were described as participants in the Community Survey but not in the Matched Sample Survey, are a larger group and an unexpected one.

Dropouts cannot be accounted for in terms of errors introduced by the mode of interviewing in the Community Survey. (See Tables 2 and 3 above.) Neither can they be attributed to interviewer dishonesty. While interviewers were not assigned to respondents at random nor given equal numbers of assignments, all Community and Matched Sample survey interviewers had high dropout rates.

The most convincing evidence against the idea that unreliability resulted from interviewer dishonesty, systematic respondent dishonesty, use of telephone interviews, or use of wives and other household members as informants, is the fact that unreliability in participation tends not to be correlated with unreliability in other items. If interviewers were dishonest about their husbands' activities, we would expect to find discrepancies in participation associated with discrepancies in other items. Table 13 below shows the connections between these discrepancies.

TABLE 13. RELIABILITY IN REPORTED PARTICIPATION BY RELIABILITY IN SELECTED OTHER VARIABLES

Items included in both surveys	Percentage of responses not discrepant among men for whom participation in the Community and Matched Sample surveys was the same	different	Total	(Number of categories)
TV viewing*	54% (452)	57% (136)	55% (591)	(3)
Marital status	96% (455)	97% (136)	96% (593)	(5)
Education	75% (450)	66% (136)	73% (589)	(7)
Family income*	54% (395)	53% (115)	54% (512)	(4)
Age	89% (456)	94% (135)	90% (594)	(4)
Occupation*	66% (446)	73% (128)	67% (581)	(11)
Industry of occupation*	78% (410)	81% (135)	78% (545)	(10)

* These items were only indirectly comparable between the two surveys, since slight differences in question wording or coding instructions were used. The other items are directly comparable; essentially the same questions and coding instructions were used in both surveys.

The column at the right of Table 13 gives the number of categories used in deciding whether or not responses were discrepant; obviously the proportion of discrepancies is reduced when the number of categories is small. The second column from the right gives the proportion of responses which were the same in both surveys (refusals and "don't knows" have been excluded in computing these percentages). The proportion non-discrepant ranges from 96% for marital status to only 74% for family income. The latter is probably low because some informants may have been reporting about different years in the two surveys (many Community interviews were conducted in 1961 and many Matched Sample interviews in 1962).

The body of the table enables us to compare those for whom participation in adult education was the same in the two surveys with those for whom participation was reported different (those who "dropped out" or who were "added on"). For six of the seven variables, discrepancies were either negatively associated with discrepancies in participation or the correlation was essentially zero. Thus, we must rule out interviewer dishonesty or any other systematic interviewing effects as causes of unreliability in reported participation.

To discover the important sources of unreliability it is necessary to re-examine the questions we asked more closely, to discover how they may have had a different meaning for ourselves and our respondents. The question used in the Community Survey was as follows:

> Some people take classes or instruction of one kind or another in their spare time. How about you [or him]: Do you happen to be attending any classes or series of lectures, or do you participate in a regular discussion group?
>
> Are you taking any private lessons, such as golf lessons or piano lessons?
>
> What about correspondence courses or TV courses? Are you taking any of them?
>
> IF NO TO ALL OF THE ABOVE: Have you taken part in any such educational activities, or in things like an educational workshop or conference, in the last few months? IF YES: When?

The question on the Matched Sample Survey followed a series on jobs and formal education:

> Thinking back over the time since you left school, have you ever taken any courses or lessons like those on this list? (HAND CARD V)
>
> (CARD V) NIGHT SCHOOL COURSES
> CORRESPONDENCE COURSES
> PRIVATE LESSONS
> DISCUSSION GROUPS
> TV COURSES
> WORKSHOPS OR CONFERENCES
>
> Has any of the special training you mentioned been within the last five years?
>
> Did you take [the particular course or subject mentioned] sometime since last September?"

Of the 102 dropouts, 37% said they had *never* taken any of the indicated types of programs, 31% said they had but *not within the past five years*, and 31% said they had within the past five years but *not since the preceding September*. Minor confusions over dates cannot possibly account for more than a small fraction of the unreliability.

The tone of the Community question is clearly permissive and unrestrictive---"Do you happen to be attending . . . ?" On the other hand, the tone of the Matched Sample question is more restrictive---"Have you ever taken . . . ?" Reading the questions closely, one can note two ways in which respondents could answer affirmatively to the first and negatively to the second while remaining logically consistent. (1) If the respondent interpreted "Have you ever taken any courses . . . ?" as "Have you ever *completed* any courses . . . ?". If he had started a course in the preceding September but dropped out before completing it he would be a "dropout" from our panel of participants as well as a "dropout" from adult education. (2) If the respondent *redefined* a program as he learned more about it, his seeming inconsistent answers need not actually be so. For example, in November a man may have interpreted an organized discussion group as having primarily an educational purpose, but in the following May he may have redefined the activity as one which was primarily social. This again would be a kind of "dropout" from adult education, although some sort of formal affiliation with a program might have been retained.

In short, we suggest that the main cause of unreliability in our measurements of participation is dropout from adult education or redefinition of activities as non-educational. This hypothesis is supported by our analysis of dropouts in this study as well as what we know about dropouts from other sources.* The proportion of dropouts is high among (1) those for whom the time interval between Community and Matched Sample interviews was greatest, (2) groups for which the general participation rate is lowest, and (3) those participating in "marginal" types of adult education programs.

1. Interval Between Community and Matched Sample Interviews

The interval between the Community and the Matched Sample interviews varied from as little as 9 weeks to as much as 37 weeks. The dropout rate was considerably less when the interval was small, although the rate does not increase uniformly with the time between the two interviews. Among 96 men who were classified as participants when interviewed in November for the Community Survey, 45 percent dropped out, while only 26 percent dropped out among 38 men interviewed in February. These results are consistent with the hypotheses that persons say they "have not taken" programs in adult education recently when they have in fact dropped out of programs they started. When the interval between interviews was short, persons would have less opportunity to drop out or to redefine the activity.

2. Dropout by Education of Respondent

Poorly educated respondents, those less likely to participate in the first place, are more likely to drop out in the sample of participants than well education respondents. The correlation is shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14. DROPOUT RATE BY EDUCATION OF SAMPLE MALE
(Matched Sample Survey data)

Education of Sample Male	Dropout rate
0 to 9 years	55% (20)
10 to 11 years	57% (37)
12 years	38% (86)
1 to 3 years college	32% (63)
4 years college	26% (43)
5 or more years college	27% (22)

This correlation can be accounted for by the higher likelihood that men with little education will in fact drop out of educational programs they begin. Of course, the dropout rate is high at all educational levels.

The other independent variables which accounted for large proportions of the variation in participation have smaller correlations with the dropout rate. For example, the dropout rate was 33% among white collar workers, 41% among manual workers; much of this difference can be accounted for in terms of relative educational levels. The correlation of age with dropout rate is irregular, although the dropout rate is highest in the oldest age group, as shown in Table 15.

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* Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), pp. 80-82, discusses some of the structural causes and consequences of high dropout rates. Also Edmund deS. Brunner, et al., An Overview of Adult Education Research (Adult Education Association, 1959), pp. 251ff., James A. Davis, et al., Great Books and Small Groups (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), passim; and James T. Carey, Why Students Drop Out (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1953).

TABLE 15. DROPOUT RATE BY AGE
(Matched Sample Survey data)

Age of Sample Male	Dropout rate
20-24	40% (30)
25-29	30% (50)
30-34	28% (43)
35-39	31% (36)
40-44	46% (37)
45-49	35% (31)
50 and over	55% (44)

3. Dropout by Type of Educational Program

We thought at first that some of the unreliability in participation might have resulted from the interviewers' naming specific types of activities in the Community Survey but not in the Matched Sample Survey. In the former the interviewer specifically mentioned lecture series, discussion groups, and correspondence courses, while in the latter lecture series were not noted at all specifically, and the others were listed on a card. If this accounted for unreliability, the unreliability should be higher for participation in lecture series, discussion groups, and correspondence courses. Table 16 shows that this is not quite borne out.

TABLE 16. DROPOUT RATE BY TYPE OF INSTRUCTION

Type of Instruction	Dropout rate
Lecture series and private lessons	56% (23)*
Discussion groups	40% (25)
Correspondence or TV courses	35% (40)
Classes	31% (182)

* Only 9 men who had participated in lecture series appeared in the Matched Sample Survey; 5 of them, or 56%, dropped out. Of 14 who participated in private lessons, 10, or 71%, dropped out.

Dropout rates are especially high for lecture series and private lessons, but not so high for discussion groups or correspondence courses. This suggests that the major influence is not so much the wording of our questions as the ease with which persons might drop out of a program or redefine it as non-educational. It would probably be easier to define a lecture series or golf lessons as "non-educational" than correspondence courses or classes, which usually involve registering, paying fees, etc.

This comes out more clearly when one compares dropout rates for different types of sponsors. The dropout rate is considerably higher for those who initially stated they were participating through some agency not usually defined as "educational". This is shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17. DROPOUT RATE BY TYPE OF SPONSOR

Type of Sponsor	Dropout rate	
Schools and universities	14% (121)	19% (145)
Proprietary schools	42% (24)	
Governmental & military agencies	45% (20)	59% (128)
Employment centered agencies	61% (31)	
Religious organizations	84% (25)	
All others	55% (47)	

Those who initially claimed to participate in non-formal agencies account for 74% of all the dropouts. Still, the rate of 14% for those in public educational agencies is quite high.

In a similar way, when the Community Survey showed that men participated in subjects not usually thought of as "educational", they were less likely to be recorded as participants in the Matched Sample Survey. The large differences here interact with level of education. The joint associations are shown in Table 18.

TABLE 18. DROPOUT RATE BY SUBJECT TAKEN AND EDUCATION

Percentage dropping out between Community and Matched Sample Surveys

	Educational level (Community)*		
Type of subject taken (Community)	High school grad or less	Some college or more	Total
Academic	19% (16)	23% (31)	20% (49)
White collar skills	19% (16)	26% (47)	24% (63)
Manual skills	35% (40)	22% (18)	31% (58)
All other subjects**	71% (49)	60% (40)	64% (88)
Total	45% (121)	35% (136)	

* 13 men for whom education was not ascertained are omitted from all but total column.

** This includes:

Moral-religious	82% (22)
Recreation	68% (19)
All other	59% (17)
Citizenship	57% (14)
Performing arts	44% (16)

These percentages are based on relatively few cases, but the order is suggestive. The borderline between other activities and education is likely to be especially hazy in religion and recreation.

Some of the differences between the more educated and the less educated can be attributed to the fact that the former are less likely to participate in subjects for which unreliability is high. The unreliability of typical school subjects--academic and white collar skills--is less than half the unreliability of atypical subjects, such as moral-religious education, recreational education, and instruction in performing arts. The most plausible explanation for these differences is that atypical subjects are often redefined by participants as not being of an "educational" nature, a redefinition which may very well conform to the "facts" of the situation.

In summary, the correlations of "dropout" status with other variables can be accounted for best by inferring that men who dropped out of our sample of participants (1) dropped out of adult education programs, or (2) redefined programs as not educational in nature. This hypothesis is consistent with the facts that the dropout rate was smaller for men reinterviewed in the Matched Sample Survey shortly after being interviewed in the Community Survey, smaller for types of men who are in fact less likely to drop out of programs, and smaller for programs which are less likely to be redefined as "non-educational".

Corroborative Results from Other Studies

The Oakland surveys lead to the conclusion that the wording of questions about participation in adult education may have very large effects on the participation rates obtained. Knowing this, we can re-examine previous surveys to see if expected differences in wording have effects there as well. First we shall consider a series of nationwide surveys from 1938 to 1962, then consider different aspects of the Oakland survey again. Table 19 presents questions and rates from 6 nationwide surveys.

TABLE 19. PARTICIPATION RATES FOR DIFFERENT NATIONWIDE SURVEYS

Survey agency and question	Time period asked about	% Participating
1. AIPO 137 (1938) "Do you happen to be taking any courses now in night school, correspondence school, WPA classes, or other adult education programs?"	now	6%
2. AIPO 335 (1944) "During the last 5 years have you attended any classes for adults in school or college?"	last 5 years	18%
3. AIPO 452 (1950) "Are you taking now or have you ever taken, any courses in an adult education program?"	now and ever	6% now 16% in past
4. AIPO 591-K (1957) "Did you happen to take any adult education courses during the past twelve months?"	last 12 mos.	10%
5. U.S. Census (1957) "During the past 12 months, has /household member/ attended any of the following classes or group meetings 3 times or more?" (The list shown includes regular school, civic & public affairs, home & family living, trade, business, or technical courses, recreational skills, crafts, or "any other.")	last 12 mos.	8%

(continued on next page)

Survey agency and question	Time period asked about	% Participating
6. NORC (1962) "Here is a list of subjects and skills that people sometimes study after they have left school. Would you please read this over and tell me whether during the past 12 months any adult member of the household has received instruction in any of these things---or in any other subjects not listed here? Please include evening classes, correspondence courses, private lessons, lecture series, courses given over television---or anything else like that. How about [household member]?" (The list shown included subjects ranging from "regular school subjects" to "personal development" and "religion".)	last 12 mos.	19%
7. NORC Self-instruction (1962) "During the past 12 months, has any adult living here been engaged in learning some new subject or skill by means of independent study strictly on his or her own? How about [household member]?"	last 12 mos.	8% total 9% total, excluding those participating otherwise.

Sources: AIPO refers to the American Institute of Public Opinion surveys, obtained from the Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Williamstown, Mass. The samples are quota samples, ranging in size from 1500 to 3000. The Census Bureau survey was conducted with a probability sample of 35,000. It was reported in U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Participation in Adult Education*, Circular No. 539, (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1959). The NORC (National Opinion Research Center) survey was conducted with a probability sample of 24,000 adults. It was reported in John W. C. Johnstone, *Volunteers for Learning* (Chicago, NORC, Feb. 1963).

These survey results are quite difficult to compare; while differences in rates are large, differences in definitions, populations, and question wording make it difficult to come to any clear conclusions about "trends" with regard to participation in adult education.

Perhaps the most obvious difference in the questions is the time period covered. The longer the period covered, the higher the reported participation rate will be. The differences are analogous to the distinctions students of public health typically make. Asking about present behavior is like asking about the "prevalence" of a disease in a population, asking about an interval covering some months or years is like asking about the "incidence" of a disease (the rate at which new cases arise), and asking about lifetime experience is like asking about the "total exposure" to a disease. These are quite different things, and students of morbidity have learned to keep them separate.

Differences in time interval make it difficult to compare the effects of different kinds of question wordings on participation rates. However, it seems likely that reference to "adult education" activities elicits a higher participation rate than reference to "classes for adults in school or college."

Perhaps the most interesting differences reported are for the Census survey and the NORC survey, both based on good samples and taking place only five years apart. Johnstone has already discussed some reasons for the differences in rates of the two.* He points out that (1) the NORC survey included a wider range of activites than the Census survey---it included "traditional religious instruction" (12% of all instruction), on-the-job training (between 5% and 8% of all instruction), and other forms of training, such as correspondence courses, which were excluded from the Census study; (2) the NORC survey counted those who participated for only 1 or 2 sessions (about 6% of all instruction), while the Census required 3 or more sessions; (3) the NORC study included all persons over 21, including full-time students (3.4% of all participants), while the Census covered all persons 14 or over, excluding full-time students. Here problems of the definition of adult education and the population which might be "exposed" to it undoubtedly account for most of the differences. But these are not minor matters; they lead to participation rates which are quite different---the NORC survey gave a rate about twice as high as that produced by the Census.

In the current study, we asked samples of Oakland men questions about participation in adult education at three different times, in slightly different ways. The different responses indicate the importance of the factors already mentioned. In the preliminary pilot survey, we asked of men,

> "Are you presently attending any classes or taking any courses? Are you taking any correspondence courses, TV courses, or private lessons? Any self-instruction? Are you taking part in any discussion groups? How about attending any lecture series?"

The total participation rate was 20.4%.** If we exclude those participating through "self-instruction," the number of participants drops by about one-quarter, just as it does in the NORC national survey. The adjusted participation rate of 16.7% is higher than the rate of 12.4% obtained in the Community Survey. However, the areas in Oakland which were sampled differed somewhat. The Community Survey participation rate of 12.4% can be "corrected" by subtracting from it the men who denied participation in the later Matched Sample Survey; this gives a conservative estimate of 7.7%. This rate can also be corrected by adding men who commenced participating in the 4 to 10 month interval between the two surveys; if both corrections are used, the rate would be somewhat less than 17%. Thus, decisions about the definition of adult education, about the time interval covered, and about the inclusion of marginal participants, have large consequences upon the rates which might be computed.

We may conclude that to speak of a rate of participation in adult education is deceptive; there are many ways of measuring the extent of participation, each of them useful for particular purposes.

Recommendations for Future Studies

Survey procedures for descriptive studies and for explanatory studies differ considerably.*** For either type of study, prior knowledge about the difficulties of measuring participation in adult education should make it possible to deal effectively with the problem.

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* Johnstone, op. cit., pp. 23f.

** After excluding men over the age of 59.

*** Cf. Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, (1955), ch. 2.

Descriptive Studies

We can expect descriptive studies of participation in adult education to be undertaken in the future for two reasons of an "applied" nature: to determine the work load required of the various agencies engaged in adult education, and to determine some aspects of the pool of trained talent in the nation. To achieve these goals, the following distinctions should be made:

(1) Distinctions between prevalence, incidence, and total exposure. These refer to quite different things: the proportion of persons actually participating at a given time, the proportion of persons who have begun participating during a given time interval, and the proportion of persons who have ever been exposed to educational programs. Such distinctions can be made on the basis of just a few questions.

(2) Distinctions between levels of commitment. Part-time students show a wide range of involvement in their educational activities. In particular, many of them are so slightly involved that they quickly drop out of programs or redefine them as non-educational. We can only speculate now on the best ways of distinguishing levels of commitment. Perhaps the easiest ways would involve asking the respondent brief questions about the number of sessions held since his program began, and his regularity of attendance.

(3) Distinctions between types of sponsors. To determine the demand placed upon educational agencies, we need to know to what extent students participate through public educational agencies, private educational agencies, other agencies offering programs to students at little cost, or through self-education. Distinguishing between types of sponsors might make it less necessary to ask about and classify subjects of study. In particular, it is often difficult to decide whether or not religious instruction should be defined as adult education; inquiring about sponsorship should make it possible to include or exclude such instruction, since it is almost invariably offered by churches.

For some purposes it would be valuable to ask about degrees, certificates, or credits received or desired from adult education. This might give a crude idea of some aspects of the trained talent available in the population and how the responsibility of training has been apportioned between full-time and part-time educational agencies.

Explanatory Studies

It is more difficult to prescribe distinctions to be made by theoretically oriented surveys, since the indicators used will depend on the theoretical questions asked. However, students of the subject should be aware that "participation in adult education" is a highly ambiguous variable. Some studies may be interested in it as an indicator of cultural orientations, others as an indicator of tendencies to rely upon experts or public service agencies. Depending upon the orientation of the study, different types of indicators would be appropriate.

Conclusion

Students of educational activities can learn much from students of public health, an area in which measurement techniques have become more highly developed. We need to be sensitive to differences in education analogous to differences in the incidence, prevalence, past exposure to, and severity of diseases. We need to realize that many persons find it as difficult to report about their educational experiences as about their experiences with illness. And we need to realize that, just as persons equally "ill" may be differentially disposed to rely on physicians and hospitals, so persons equally in "need of education" may be differentially disposed to rely on teachers and schools. And we need additional studies of part-time students, since the problem of ignorance is at least as important as the problems of illness in modern societies.

A SHORT NOTE ON THE INSTITUTIONAL SURVEY*

Although we conducted an extensive survey of Oakland organizations and institutions, lack of time and limited resources prevented us from completing our analysis. However, since some of the data from this survey are reported in Chapter 3, we include below a short description of the sample design.

In securing a sampling list, our first task was to compile a list of all types of organizations operating within the City of Oakland. In a city of 367,000 we found this to be a difficult undertaking because of the multiplicty of organizations and the lack of any central source of information. An initial step was to establish a community advisory committee of knowledgable individuals involved in organized activities in the city to advise us about organizations of all types that should be included in our inventory. Apart from the advisory committee, the most valuable sources of information were the organizational lists compiled by the Chamber of Commerce, telephone listings, the Oakland Tribune, and various reports prepared by welfare, recreation, and educational agencies. After extensive library research, conferences, telephone calls, and personal interviews, we compiled a list of approximately 2,500 organizations. Verification of pertinent identifying information and elimination of duplications reduced the original list to 2,047. For our purpose, this list now-constituted the universe of organizations within the City of Oakland, and included the following types of organizations:

1. Educational agencies which were clearly defined as educational by the organization and its clientele.	108
2. Civic-governmental: cultural, recreational, and health agencies including such groups as museums, libraries, galleries, hospitals, and parks; governmental agencies including federal, state, county and city bodies including the military.	243
3. Employment-Centered organizations such as professional societies, trade associations, labor unions, and business and industrial firms employing 100 or more employees.	309
4. Voluntary Associations which included churches and church organizations, veteran and other patriotic groups, age groups, political and social organizations, civic improvement clubs, nationality groupings, fraternal organizations, recreational groups, charitable organizations, and radio and television.	1,353
5. Miscellaneous organizations which were subsequently reclassified into one of the above categories.	34
Total =	2,047

Further checking, elimination of duplications, reassignment of organizations, and redistribution of the miscellaneous organizations resulted in further refinement of the organizational listing. A decision was then made to sample only one-fourth of the voluntary associations to reduce the sampling list to manageable size. The final list was composed of 107 educational agencies, 210 civic-governmental organizations, 440 employment-centered groups, and 283 voluntary associations. After mailing, 109 questionnaires were returned because of poor address or organization unknown. This reduced the number of organizations receiving the questionnaire from 1,040 to 931.

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* James T. Carey played a major role in the formulation of the design and the collection of data. Questionnaires are not included in this monograph for financial reasons and because the data collected are largely unreported.

TABLE 20. SUMMARY OF QUESTIONNAIRE RETURNS
FOR THE INSTITUTIONAL SURVEY

Type of Organization	Questionnaires Received	Questionnaires Returned
Education	9%	51% (88)
Civic-government	22	66% (204)
Employment-centered	45	60% (419)
Voluntary associations	24	60% (220)
Totals	100% (931)	61% (931)

Table 20 indicates that there was little bias in the questionnaire returns; the return rates are similar for all types of organizations. However, it is also true that our results, partly discussed in Chapter 3, underestimate the number of adult education programs in the City of Oakland. Not all questionnaires were returned, as Table 20 shows, and there were difficulties with the responses of a number of organizations.

Many branches of government and industry provide training programs for their employees under the supervision of headquarters located outside of Oakland, and these activities are unreported in our survey. Twenty-four libraries received questionnaires, but only the main branch filled out the schedule--we know of programs offered in the branch libraries, but these are not included in the survey results. Similar difficulties were experienced with returns from the Oakland Recreation Department.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation carries out an internal training program, but reported their policy of not filling out questionnaires on any subject. A report of the San Francisco Federal Personnel Council (dated March, 1960) stated that many governmental agencies offer educational activities to their employees on a continuing basis--many of these agencies presumably did not define their training programs as falling within our definition of adult education.

The above illustrations show that part of the difficulty was in sampling, and part in the way in which our survey was interpreted to respondents. We characterized our study as a census of schools and organizations that sponsor programs of a self-improvement or educational nature for adults; in the follow-up letter, we described the survey as a scientific study of the community's resources for adult education. With the aid of hindsight, it is apparent that professional education and in-service training should have been specifically mentioned in the instructions. We mention this here to provide some guidance to other researchers studying the array of organizational sponsorship of adult education. The difficulties we experienced were primarily restricted to non-educational organizations, whose role in the education of adults is much more ambiguous than that of the well-recognized, formal educational institutions.

Appendix 2: FINDINGS FROM NATIONAL SURVEYS OF ADULT EDUCATION*

The Oakland study of participants and non-participants in adult education may be set within a broader perspective by comparing it with the results of several surveys asking appropriate questions of adults across the nation. The possible influence upon participation of social status, age, sex, race, and place of residence will be of principal concern in this appendix. Although other factors may be more important, the original surveys are limited in the types of questions asked and therefore do not permit an elaborate analysis.

One caution must be made explicit: because of the "rarity" of participation in adult education--between 8 and 14 percent of the population is active at a given time--it cannot be assumed that the factors which will cause a given persons to participate have been completely located. Merely finding, for example, that better-educated persons are more likely to participate in adult education than persons with less education does not adequately describe the complex motivations which may induce one skilled worker to take a Great Books course and another to stay at home and watch Gunsmoke. The discussion to follow merely locates a few of the factors differentiating participants from non-participants, without attempting to explain these differences.

The principal data to be examined are drawn from an American Institute of Public Opinion (the Gallup poll) survey taken in 1957, consisting of a sample of 1504 persons across the nation. Of these persons, 1456 answered a question, "Did you happen to take any adult education courses during the past twelve months?" and 1446 persons answered a subsequent question, "Would you like to take any (other) adult education courses?" The proportions of persons with various social characteristics who participate or who desire to participate in adult education are presented in Tables 1 through 16, and the findings are summarized in the following pages.

Some of these characteristics are the same as those reported in the analysis of the Oakland Community Survey (see Chapters 5 and 6), in the NORC study of Volunteers for Learning, and in a 1963 Gallup survey which was made available too late for extensive analysis. Parallel findings or contradictions will be discussed later.

The relation of eight different demographic characteristics of Americans to their propensity to participate in adult education courses, as shown by the 1957 Gallup survey, is shown in Table 1. Clearly, the question asked suffers from all of the deficiencies of a single measure of "adult education" discussed in Chapter 4 and Appendix 1 of this monograph. It is, however, the principal purpose of the larger Oakland study to refine and distinguish various types, functions and meanings of adult education, and this review of national studies is intended to place that detailed study of one Western city into a broader, if admittedly inadequate, context. One concern of this analysis, for example, will be to see whether the location of the Oakland study has itself exaggerated or underestimated the absolute level of participation in adult education; whether larger cities, and cities in the Western region of the United States, exhibit different patterns than do smaller cities or rural areas in other regions of this country.

The most striking finding of Table 1 is that attained education is the most important factor determining whether or not a person is likely to participate in adult education. Statistically speaking, the percentage-point difference in participation levels between those with no education or grammar school and those with some college or more is greater (26 points) than for any other variable considered. Age is second in importance (20 percentage points separate the young from the old), occupation third (15 points separate unskilled workers from professionals), and then economic position (8 points).

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* This appendix was written by Robert R. Alford, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin.

There were no differences between men and women, or between whites and nonwhites, in their level of participation. The "frontier" regions--the Mountain and Pacific states--exhibited slightly higher levels of participation than the other regions of the United States, and larger cities--those over 100,000 population--generally possessed populations participating to a slightly greater extent than did the populations of smaller cities.

Table 1

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY VARIOUS DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONS, Unites States, 1957

(Per cent)

1. Sex

Males	10% (684)
Females	9 (772)

2. Occupation

Professional	20 (233)
White collar	15 (179)
Skilled workers	12 (253)
Unskilled	5 (452)

3. Education

None or grammar	2(488)
Some high school	5(342)
High school graduation	12(413)
Some college or graduate	28(216)

4. Economic position

Lower	6 (544)
Middle	8 (383)
Upper	14 (455)

5. Age

20-30	20 (253)
30-40	11 (355)
40-50	9 (333)
50-60	8 (238)
60-70	2 (174)
70-80	0 (78)
80 over	0 (15)

6. Race

White	10 (1305)
Nonwhite	9 (151)

7. Region of residence

New England	11 (94)
Middle Atlantic	10 (371)
East Central	9 (215)
West Central	5 (177)
South	9 (380)
Mountain	15 (59)
Pacific	15 (160)

8. City size of residence

Farm	6 (229)
Open country, nonfarm	9 (237)
Places under 2,500	9 (55)
2,500-5,000	6 (97)
5-10,000	9 (34)
10-25,000	0 (48)
25-50,000	7 (68)
50-100,000	9 (64)
100-250,000	14 (133)
250-500,000	9 (85)
500-1,000,000	11 (127)
1,000,000 plus	15 (278)
Total	9 (1456)

Source: American Institute of Public Opinion Survey No. 591K, 1957. The question was: "Did you happen to take any adult education courses during the past twelve months?" This question forms the basis for Tables 2 through 8 following also. The total number of respondents was 1504, but some persons did not answer the question.

Although the question: "What was the nature of the course?" was also asked, the information was not transferred to IBM cards. The further question: "Would you like to take any (other) adult education courses?" is the basis for Tables 9 through 16. The question following this was also not punched ("What subject would you like to study?").

Semi-skilled workers were included with unskilled. Totals do not add up because of failure to obtain complete information on all questions. Economic position was judged roughly by the interviewer from style of living and neighborhood.

Thus, without taking into account the possible interaction of these factors, it is clear that education and age are the most important demographic characteristics of persons affecting the likelihood that they will participate in adult education. Such a summary statement raises more questions than it answers, however. Are the effects of occupational status and economic position due entirely to the prior effect of education, or do they independently induce participation? Is the effect of age due entirely to the fact that younger persons are better educated than older persons, or does age have an independent effect? Similarly, are the levels of participation found in large cities and in the West due to the higher average level of education in these areas?

The way in which these questions can be answered is by controlling for the effects of education, and then examining the relationship between participation and the seven other demographic characteristics. This will allow us to see whether the effect of education is the same in all regions and city groupings, among racial groupings, sexes, occupations, and age groups, and may allow some statement of the varying conditions under which education has its predominant effect.

The relation between education, occupation, and participation is shown in Table 2. In general, education makes more difference for participation than does occupation, but not in all cases. Among the unskilled, there is a low level of participation regardless of education. There are few college-educated persons among the unskilled workers, of course, but their level of participation is very slightly more than that of the unskilled with little or no education. Except for the unskilled, the educational differential is greatest between the college educated and those with anything less than college. Those with some high school, regardless of their occupation, are no more likely to participate than persons with no education or only grammar school.

Occupation makes no consistent difference at all when education is controlled. (It must be noted, of course, that the occupational categories are extremely crude; systematic differences might appear if more detailed classifications were possible.) In effect, education eliminates the relation between occupation and participation.

Table 3 shows the relation between economic position and participation, controlling for education. The original relation between economic position and participation was not strong, and, as with occupation, it practically disappears when education is controlled. The major socio-economic factor with an independent effect on participation is thus the educational attainment of the person. The original effects of occupation and economic position are due to the high associations between education, occupation, and economic position.

Table 2

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION, United States, 1957

(per cent)

Occupation	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Professional	5 (20)	9 (33)	12 (83)	34 (97)	20 (233)
White collar	8 (26)	4 (50)	16 (61)	31 (42)	15 (179)
Skilled	4 (74)	2 (57)	18 (94)	36 (28)	12 (253)
Unskilled	1 (180)	5 (130)	8 (119)	9 (23)	5 (452)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342	12 (413)	28 (216)	9 (1459)

Source: AIPO 591K. See the footnote to Table 1 for data on the survey and the question. Persons with no education and persons with some years of grammar school through grammar school graduation are included in the "grammar" category. Persons with some college or more are included as "College-educated." These categories are the same for all tables referring to the educational attainments of respondents. Persons out of the labor force are excluded from all tables referring to occupation.

Table 3

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC POSITION, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Economic Position	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Lower	2 (266)	7 (141)	10 (100)	30 (37)	6 (544)
Middle	3 (123)	1 (101)	11 (109)	28 (50)	8 (383)
Upper	5 (79)	6 (89)	15 (178)	28 (109)	14 (455)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	9 (1459)

See Table 1 for sources and description. Economic position was judged by the interviewer.

The effect of sex upon participation among persons with different levels of education is shown in Table 4. It will be recalled that there was originally no relation between sex and participation. In general, there remains no relationship worth discussing, but better-educated men seem slightly more likely to participate than women with the same education.

Table 4

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND SEX, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Sex	Education Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Male	1 (254)	4 (145)	15 (177)	31 (108)	10 (684)
Female	4 (233)	5 (197)	10 (235)	26 (107)	9 (772)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	9 (1459)

Source and discussion: See Tables 1 and 2.

Table 5 shows the relation between age, education and participation. Age was almost as important as education in its initial effects, as Table 1 showed, and it remains important. Education does not negate the effects of age, nor does age eliminate the effects of education. There are, however, variations in these effects. The relation between education and participation is particularly strong among people in their twenties, while this relation is zero among those in their sixties or older. Conversely, the relation between age and participation is strongest among the college educated, while it is very weak among those with some high school or less education.

Table 5

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND AGE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Age	Education Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
20-29	4 (27)	8 (61)	16 (106)	46 (59)	20 (253)
30-39	5 (77)	4 (81)	13 (127)	21 (70)	11 (355)
40-49	1 (111)	2 (87)	14 (95)	33 (40)	9 (333)
50-59	3 (106)	9 (55)	11 (46)	16 (31)	8 (238)
60 and over	2 (164)	2 (54)	0 (36)	2 (179)	2 (267)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	10 (1459)

See Tables 1 and 2 for sources and discussion.

When whites and nonwhites are compared among different educational groups, as in Table 6, it is clear that the original lack of a relation between race and participation remains. Within each educational group, there is little difference between whites and nonwhites in their participation rates.

Table 6

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND RACE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Race	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
White	3 (414)	4 (298)	12 (393)	29 (200)	10 (1305)
Nonwhite	1 (73)	11 (44)	16 (19)	27 (15)	9 (151)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	10 (1459)

Source: See Tables 1 and 2. "Nonwhites" are primarily Negores.

Table 7 shows the relation between region and participation, controlling for education. (Certain regions shown separately in Table 1 are combined here because of lack of cases.) The picture is mixed, and the slightly greater participation in the Western region is not maintained consistently among all education groups. In fact the college educated in the West are less likely than the average of all college-educated persons to participate. There is no difference among those with some high school, although there is a seven percentage-point advantage among Western residents with either grammar school education or a high school diploma. The effect of education is far greater than that of region, as would be expected, and it cannot be concluded from these data that there is any systematic effect of the region of residence upon participation.

Table 7

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND REGION OF RESIDENCE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Region	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
East	1 (139)	5 (101)	14 (147)	24 (78)	10 (465)
Midwest	3 (124)	3 (108)	11 (112)	21 (48)	7 (392)
South	2 (167)	6 (97)	4 (73)	49 (43)	9 (380)
West	9 (57)	5 (36)	19 (80)	24 (46)	15 (219)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	10 (1459)

Source: See Tables 1 and 2. The New England and Middle Atlantic regions, according to the census classification, comprise the "Eastern" region, the East Central and West Central regions, the "Midwest," and the Rocky Mountains and Pacific regions, the "West."

Generally, the same holds true for size of city, as Table 8 shows, although the pattern is a little more consistent in favor of the original finding that residents of cities with over 100,000 population are more likely to participate than residents of smaller cities. Except for those with none or only grammar school education, persons with more education--from some high school through college-living in larger cities are still slightly more likely to participate than are persons with similar educational attainments living in smaller cities. Again, the differences are minimal in comparison with those due to education.

Table 8

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND CITY SIZE OF RESIDENCE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

City size	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Farm and under 2,500	3 (220)	5 (124)	10 (127)	28 (50)	7 (521)
2,500-10,000	3 (33)	0 (38)	7 (42)	28 (18)	7 (131)
10,000-100,000	1 (69)	4 (51)	14 (42)	11 (18)	6 (180)
100,000 plus	2 (165)	6 (129)	14 (201)	31 (128)	13 (623)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	10 (1459)

Source: See Tables 1 and 2. Places over 50,000 include persons residing in suburban areas around the cities.

To summarize the findings of Tables 1 through 8, age and education have the only independent effects upon participation of any of these eight demographic characteristics. These findings may be expanded by considering another question asked these same respondents: "Would you like to take any (other) adult education courses?" It would be an important additional piece of information about predispositions to participate in adult education if the same factors were important in predicting the likelihood of someone desiring to take an adult education course as in predicting actual participation. On the other hand, we may find significant discrepancies which may serve to locate potential recruits to adult education who do not in fact participate at the present time, or participate less than their expressed desire to do so might indicate.

The mode of analysis of this question is parallel to that followed for the question on actual participation. All persons who had reported participation in the last 12 months were excluded from this part of the analysis. Table 9 describes the relations between desire to participate and each of the eight demographic characteristics for nonparticipants only.

In general, Table 9 shows that the effects of the various demographic characteristics are similar to those found in Table 1, with two differences. The effects are greater, and two new factors (sex and race) appear to have some importance in affecting desire to participate.

The greater effects of the demographic characteristics can be illustrated by comparing Tables 1 and 9. The range of percentage-point differences between people of different educational attainments, for example, is 44 in Table 9, as compared to 26 in Table 1. The range for age is 41 as compared to 20, for occupation 21 as compared to 15, and for economic position 12 as compared to 8. About one-third of the entire sample of nonparticipants indicated that they would like to take an adult education course, and this figure rose to fully 62 percent among the college educated, and even reached 18 percent among those with none or only grammar school education (the corresponding latter figure was 2 percent for actual participation).

Two new factors--sex and race--appear to have an effect upon desire to take adult education courses. At least from this initial tabulation without regard for the possible effect of education, women are more likely to want to take such courses than men, and nonwhites more than whites. It may be significant that in both cases there is no such excessive participation in fact. Both women and nonwhites are discriminated against in jobs and in the public positions which they are able to hold in our society; this lack of opportunity may have its outlet in expressed desires to improve their occupation through vocational courses or to improve their minds through liberal adult education, since in actual practice they are not permitted to hold the positions to which they might aspire. Whether adult education is seen as a means for advancement, or is seen as a substitute for actual participation in the world, these discrepancies between participation and desire for women and nonwhites offer an opportunity to adult educators.

The regional and city differences found in Table 1 are again found in Table 9. The populations of the Mountain and Pacific regions are slightly more likely to desire to participate than are residents of other regions, and in general persons in cities over 100, 000 population are also more apt to express such a desire than persons in smaller cities. Whether these differences are reduced or disappear when education is controlled will be examined below.

Table 9

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION BY VARIOUS DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

1. Sex	
Males	31 (681)
Females	37 (765)

2. Occupation	
Professional	53 (230)
White Collar	45 (179)
Skilled	37 (251)
Semi and unskilled	32 (449)

3. Education	
None or grammar	18 (484)
Some high school	32 (341)
High school graduate	41 (411)
Some college or grad	62 (210)

4. Economic position	
Lower	30 (538)
Middle	33 (381)
Upper	42 (454)

5. Age	
20-30	45 (249)
30-40	47 (352)
40-50	39 (331)
50-60	25 (236)
60-70	12 (175)
70-80	4 (78)
80 over	7 (15)

6. Race	
White	33 (1299)
Nonwhite	46 (147)

7. Region	
New England	26 (93)
Middle Atlantic	36 (365)
East Central	38 (213)
West Central	29 (177)
South	29 (378)
Mountain	46 (59)
Pacific	45 (161)

8. City size of residence	
Farm	24 (227)
Open country non farm	35 (236)
Under 2,500	44 (55)
2,500-5,000	31 (97)
5-10,000	29 (34)
10-25,000	26 (47)
25-50,000	22 (68)
50-100,000	27 (63)
100-250,000	40 (133)
250-500,000	31 (85)
500-1,000,000	38 (125)
1,000,000 plus	45 (275)
Total	34 (1446)

Source: See Table 1. The question was: "Would you like to take any (other) adult education course?" and answers are reported here only for those who previously had answered "No" to the question: "Did you happen to take any adult education course during the past twelve months?"

The mutual effects of education, occupation, and economic position are examined again in Tables 10 and 11. As Table 10 shows, the effect of occupation remains in at least three out of the four educational groups, but at a highly reduced level. The effect of education remains in all occupational groups, although at a slightly reduced level. The most striking finding is the impact of having had some college or more--people with this level of education are considerably more likely than any other people, regardless of their occupation, to want to have more education. Having had a high level of education only whets people's appetites for more, apparently. Not only does college education increase actual participation, but, even among nonparticipants, the better educated are far more likely than other persons to want more education. The effect of the other socioeconomic factor, economic position, is entirely due to the effect of education, as Table 11 shows.

Table 10
DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Occupation	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Professional	35 (20)	30 (33)	49 (82)	67 (95)	53 (230)
White Collar	22 (27)	22 (50)	57 (60)	69 (42)	45 (179)
Skilled	24 (74)	35 (57)	39 (94)	64 (26)	37 (251)
Semi and unskilled	23 (178)	36 (129)	34 (120)	59 (22)	32 (449)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 11

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC POSITION

United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Economic Position	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Lower	21 (262)	31 (140)	43 (100)	56 (36)	30 (538)
Middle	12 (123)	29 (101)	46 (108)	67 (49)	33 (381)
Upper	20 (80)	37 (89)	40 (178)	65 (107)	42 (454)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 12 shows the effect of sex upon desire to participate, controlling for education. The original relation, favoring women, still remains, although it is not great. Among persons with varying levels of education, women are consistently more likely than men to want to take an adult education course.

Table 12

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION AND SEX,

United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Sex	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Male	17 (254)	28 (144)	38 (177)	58 (106)	31 (681)
Female	19 (230)	35 (197)	44 (234)	66 (104)	37 (765)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

The effect of age, portrayed in Table 13, is again complex when considered in connection with the effect of education. Among the college educated, there is a high level of desire to participate (over 70 percent), which drops sharply after the age of 50. Also, the younger, poorly educated persons are more desirous of participating than are the older poorly educated, as might be expected, but there is very little difference, again until age 50 is reached. In general, poorly educated persons under 30 are no more likely to want to take adult education courses than are persons with similar education between 30 and 50 years of age.

Table 13

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS BY EDUCATION AND AGE
United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Age	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
20-30	27 (26)	33 (61)	43 (106)	70 (56)	45 (249)
30-40	28 (76)	36 (80)	50 (127)	75 (69)	47 (352)
40-50	25 (110)	38 (87)	41 (94)	70 (40)	39 (331)
50-60	16 (105)	38 (55)	26 (46)	33 (30)	25 (236)
60 and over	7 (265)	6 (54)	25 (36)	8 (13)	9 (268)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

The relation between race and desire to take adult education, which appeared in Table 9, is consistently found again even when persons with equivalent levels of education are compared (Table 14). In fact, for all except high school graduates the difference is increased. Thirteen of the 14 college-educated nonwhites in the sample expressed a desire to take adult education, possibly a tribute to the effect which they felt that increased education had upon their life-chances.

Table 14

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS BY EDUCATION AND RACE

United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Race	**Education**				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
White	15 (413)	30 (298)	41 (392)	60 (196)	33 (1299)
Nonwhite	35 (71)	47 (43)	47 (19)	93 (14)	46 (147)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Turning to regional and urban differences (Tables 15 and 16), generally the overall differences favoring the West and cities over 100,000 remain, although they are reduced when education is controlled. The higher level of desire to take adult education courses in the Western states, manifest in persons of all educational levels, may reflect the high degree of occupational and geographical mobility of this region, and therefore higher aspirations for educational and vocational advancement. The same pattern, with one exception, is found in cities over 100,000 population. Among the college educated, there are no systematic city differences, but the less educated are more likely to want to participate in adult education if they live in larger cities. Again, this may reflect the opportunities for mobility and the greater connection of education with the chances for leading lives with a higher cultural and economic level.

Table 15

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION AND REGION OF RESIDENCE

United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Region	**Education**				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
East	13 (137)	27 (101)	48 (146)	55 (74)	34 (458)
Midwest	22 (125)	33 (107)	39 (102)	63 (46)	34 (390)
South	18 (165)	33 (97)	26 (73)	65 (43)	29 (378)
West	19 (57)	39 (36)	51 (80)	70 (47)	45 (220)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 16

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION AND CITY SIZE OF RESIDENCE

United States, 1957

(Per cent)

City size	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Farm and up to 2,500	15 (218)	38 (124)	39 (127)	65 (49)	31 (518)
2,500-10,000	15 (33)	16 (38)	38 (42)	72 (18)	31 (131)
10,000-100,000	13 (70)	22 (51)	36 (42)	60 (15)	25 (178)
100,000 plus	24 (163)	34 (128)	45 (200)	61 (127)	41 (618)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

In combination, these last two factors indicate that probably larger Western cities, such as Oakland, would exhibit generally higher levels of desire to participate in adult education than smaller or nonWestern cities. The potential for recruitment to adult education is thereby undoubtedly greater in such cities as Oakland, although again the class factor of education is far more significant than sheer place of residence.

In summary, education has again been shown to be by far the most decisive factor predisposing nonparticipants to express a desire to take adult education courses, overriding the other demographic characteristics examined. Women and nonwhites appear to differ significantly from men and whites in their desire to participate, since their advantage remained even when education was controlled. Other socioeconomic factors besides education had little consistent effect. Age remained important, but those between 20 and 50 did not differ in their desire to participate. Western and larger cities exhibited a slightly greater degree of expressed desire.

Probably the most significant finding of these comparisons is that the same factors which produce participation also produce a desire to participate among nonparticipants. Only sex and race differed sharply in the patterns found when comparable tabulations were presented.

It remains now briefly to compare these findings with those of the 1962 Oakland survey, the 1962 NORC study, and the Gallup study of 1963, to see whether there are any discrepancies which cannot be explained either by a different time or by location of the sample. Given no substantial change of American social structure or values within this relatively brief time period, there should be no differences found in the general types of characteristics of persons which influence their participation in adult education.

A comparison of these results with those of the Oakland analysis (reported in Chapter 5) shows no important discrepancies. The overall proportion participating in Oakland was 12 percent, slightly more than the national average. The national survey, however, also found, as has been shown in Table 1, that the larger cities and Western states had slightly higher participation rates than smaller cities and nonWestern states, although these findings were shown to be inconsistent when education was controlled.

The associations of various socioeconomic characteristics with participation also were found to be similar. In both, education accounted, by and large, for whatever original relation was found between either occupational status or economic position and participation. In both studies, age was found to be independently related to participation, even when education was controlled. With regard to race, a more detailed tabulation of participation by race, education, and age simultaneously was possible in the Oakland study, with interesting results to which the reader is referred. In the national 1957 study, no connection between race and participation was found, even when education was controlled.

Thus, the relation of a number of demographic characteristics to participation in adult education was found to be the same in both the Oakland study and the national study conducted in 1957.

The 1962 NORC study, reported by John W. C. Johnstone in Volunteers for Learning (published by the National Opinion Research Center, Chicago, in 1963), contains a series of tabulations parallel to those presented in this appendix, with somewhat the same purposes. There is no need to go into great detail here, because the results are practically identical. The overall proportion of participants is somewhat higher than that found by the 1957 Gallup study (15 as compared to 10 percent), but the patterns of association of demographic characteristics with participation are the same, despite somewhat greater proportions participating in almost every subgroup examined by Mr. Johnstone.

The NORC study found, not unexpectedly, that "the most powerful factor by far is one's educational attainment" (p. 113). The effects of both occupation and income were effectively reduced when education was controlled. Similarly, age had an independent effect, even when examined in the context of educational attainment. In all educational categories, participation dropped off in older age groups. The effect of education was somewhat greater than was the effect of age (p. 116), again parallel to the results reported here. No consistent sex differences were found when age and education were both controlled.

The NORC study found, and these are the two factors on which different results were reported, that the effect of region and city size remained even when education was controlled, and these effects, although in the same direction as those reported here, were somewhat greater in magnitude. Residents of Western states and of larger cities, particularly suburbs of such larger cities, were considerably more likely to participate than residents of non-Western states, or small cities and rural areas.

With regard to race, an original difference favoring whites disappeared when education was controlled.

We may now turn to a comparison of the 1957 Gallup results, reported in detail in these tabulations, and the 1963 Gallup survey. The overall proportion participating was 13 percent, a result more in line with the 1962 NORC result than the 1957 figure of 10 percent. It is possible that the actual proportions of persons participating in some form of adult education has been increasing in the last few years. The results for the 1963 survey will not be presented in tabular form, but will merely be summarized insofar as they confirm or contradict the 1957 findings. The effect of one additional factor--religion--can be examined by this survey.

The general findings in the 1963 survey are much like that of the 1957 survey, and are more similar to that study than to the NORC study. Age, sex, and status characteristics fall into much the same patterns, but the regional and city size differences are inconclusive when education is controlled, and do not exhibit the clear pattern of differences favoring larger cities and the Western region that the NORC study found.

The average percentage point difference in level of participation between the poorest-educated persons and the best educated was 29 percent. No distinct occupational or income differences remained when education was controlled.

No difference was discovered between Protestants and Catholics, holding education constant. Jews were considerably more likely to indicate that they were participants than either of the two major religious groups, when persons of comparable education were compared. (There were only 47 Jews altogether, but all of them had at least a high school education.)

The effect of age was again independent of the effect of education, particularly for those with high school education or more. Younger persons with that much education were considerably more likely to participate than older persons with relatively less education. Sex differences were small and inconsistent when education was controlled, as were race differences.

Regional and urban differences were also small when education was controlled, although again the total level of participation was slightly higher in the West and in larger cities. The regional effect was much more clearly maintained than the city size effect when comparable education groups were examined, the Western states being higher than all other regions. No such clear pattern was found among places of different sizes.

In sum, it can be said, on the basis of examination of three national studies and one study of a Western city, that the major finding is established beyond question: the single characteristic of persons which is most likely to cause them to take an adult education course (or to want to take such a course, from our perusal of the 1957 data on this point) is the amount of education they already have. Any variation or added reinforcement of this basic factor is small when contrasted to the overwhelming importance of prior education. Regardless of where one lives, whether in the South or the North, in a small town or a big city, whether one is a man or a woman, white or Negro, a professional or a skilled worker, a person with an extremely high income or an extremely low one, prior education determines the likelihood of participation in some form of adult education. If one is young, in addition, then he is more likely to participate regardless of education, but age is also a secondary factor. Finally, the data on desire to participate suggest that these relations will not change in the forseeable future, unless active efforts are made to change the existing patterns.

Appendix 3: FACTOR ANALYSIS OF PERSONALITY AND ATTITUDE QUESTIONS

The Matched Sample Survey included many questions designed to measure attitudes toward aspects of education and basic personality traits. We felt that these might be associated with participation in adult education, and we hoped to construct scales to measure certain attitude and personality configurations with some reliability and precision. These measures have not been used in this monograph because their correlations with each other and with other variables were exceedingly small. A factor analysis of the data, presented below, suggests that many of the items did not have the meaning we attributed to them when we designed the questionnaire.

The factor analysis included 36 items, including participation in adult education. Each item was dichotomized: "agreement", "approval," "yes," or participation in adult education were given a positive score, and their contraries a negative score. (The very small number of non-responses were given a score midway between these two.) Correlations of these 36 items with one another were then computed. Spearman's rho was the measure of correlation used, but given the small number of non-responses this is essentially equivalent to phi for a 2 x 2 table.

Eighteen factors were extracted with the principal axis method, of which ten were rotated to simple structure (varimax criterion). The CDC 1604 computer at the University of Wisconsin was used for all computations. Computer time was provided by the National Science Foundation through grants to the University of Wisconsin.

Tables 1 and 2 show that the factor analysis was relatively unsuccessful. Table 1 lists each item included and presents its "communality" (h^2); this is the proportion of variance in the item which can be explained by the ten factors. Table 2 presents the items with the highest loadings on the ten factors and a tentative title for each factor.

Our results suggest that attitudes toward education probably cannot be reduced to a small number of relatively independent dimensions.

TABLE 1. LIST OF VARIABLES AND COMMUNALITIES

Number	Item	h^2 (10 factors)
1	The most important thing in life is to be happy.	.26
2	It bothers me that I do not have more education.	.28
3	When a community pays a teacher's salary, it has the right to tell him exactly what and how to teach.	.17
4	I often wish I could act free and easy with people.	.18
5	It is absolutely necessary to have a college education to be a success today.	.25
6	There is not much I can do to make my life happier and more satisfying than it is now.	.17
7	One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and connive, so that a Gentile doesn't have a fair chance in competition.	.28

Number	Item	h^2 (10 factors)
8	I can't say I look foward to each new day with much pleasure	.23
9	The real difference between people who succeed and those who don't is that the successful people have had the breaks. Getting to the top is more a matter of luck than of ability.	.28
10	I prefer to be with well-educated people.	.16
11	The most important reason for going to school is to be able to get a better job than you could otherwise.	.33
12	I often worry that things might get worse for myself and my family.	.26
13	Only a few people are cut out for study after they leave school.	.13
14	Children who go to college are likely to fall away from the religion of their parents.	.20
15	People pretend to care about one another more than they really do.	.13
16	In general I am very confident of my own ability to do things.	.21
17	Skills like carpentry and plumbing must be learned on the job and really cannot be taught in school.	.21
18	I come from a different background and have different tastes than most people I meet at work.	.23
19	A little practical experience is worth all the books put together.	.26
20	I may not always show it, but deep down I am often a quite lonely person.	.28
21	It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.	.24
22	All high school students should be required to take courses in art and music.	.16
23	It doesn't pay for a person to study too much--it only makes him dissatisfied and hard to live with.	.18
24	I feel that I have been successful in life.	.21
25	People lose the ability to learn as they get older.	.17

Number	Item	h^2 (10 factors)
26	I'm more interested in hearing about the world I live in and how it works than in just having a good time.	.20
27	A worker in a factory is worth as much to society as a man in a profession.	.20
28	It bothers me to hear a lot of arguments that I really don't agree with.	.20
29	The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good.	.17
30	Big companies control too much of American business.	.23
31	Only those with the best educations should hold offices in government.	.23
32	Communists in our colleges and universities are a serious threat to our youth.	.25
33	Do you ever gamble for money?	.10
34	As you probably know, more and more people are buying things on the installment plan. On the whole, do you approve of installment buying or disapprove of it?	.18
35	Would you say this neighborhood is a friendly place to live in?	.10
36	Participant in adult education	.08

The communalities are extremely low. The ten attitude dimensions which were obtained account for little (7.4% of all variance) of the variance in the 35 attitude items and for only eight percent of the variance in participation.

TABLE 2. LIST OF FACTORS AND FACTOR LOADINGS

The factor loading represents the correlation of the item with the underlying factor. The percentage of the total explained variance which is explained by each factor--an indicator of its relative importance--is also shown. In general, only loadings larger than .21 are shown; most loadings are less than .10.

Factor I. Alienation from Elites
Accounts for 14 percent of total explained variance.

Number	Item	Loading
9	. . . the successful people have had the breaks.	.40
25	People lose the ability to learn as they get older.	.36
28	It bothers me to hear a lot of arguments . . .	.31
3	. . . a community. . . has the right /to tell teachers/. . .	.30

Number	Item	Loading
14	Children who go to college are likely to fall away . . .	.30
7	One trouble with Jewish businessmen . . .	.29
21	. . . a mistake ever to have Negroes as foremen . . .	.28
36	Participant in adult education	.03
Factor II.	Self-Righteous Complacency Accounts for 14 percent of total explained variance.	
1	The most important thing in life is to be happy.	.47
32	Communists in our colleges and universities . . . a threat	.42
16	. . . I am very confident of my own ability . . .	.36
11	The most important reason for going to school. . . a job	.32
21	. . . a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen . . .	.23
24	I feel that I have been successful in life.	.22
29	. . . labor unions do this country more harm than good.	.20
7	One trouble with Jewish businessmen. . .	.19
36	Participant in adult education	.05
Factor III.	Highbrow-Lowbrow (Snobbery) Accounts for 12 percent of total explained variance.	
10	I prefer to be with well-educated people.	.38
19	A little practical experience is worth all the books . . .	-.35
22	HS students should be required to take . . . art and music	.27
36	Participant in adult education	.26
3	. . . a community . . . has the right to tell [teachers].	-.24
11	The most important reason for going to school [a job].	-.21
26	I'm more interested in hearing about the world . . .	.21

Factor IV. Status Insecurity (Bothered by lack of education)
Accounts for 11 percent of total explained variance.

Number	Item	Loading
2	It bothers me that I do not have more education.	.46
12	I often worry that things might get worse . . .	.40
24	I feel that I have been successful in life.	-.30
6	There is not much I can do to make my life happier . . .	-.25
4	I often wish I could act free and easy with people.	.22
36	Participant in adult education	-.01

Factor V. Elitism
Accounts for 11 percent of total explained variance.

5	It is absolutely necessary to have a college education . . .	.40
11	The most important reason for going to school [a job].	.33
31	Only those with the best education should hold offices . . .	.43
33	Gambles for money.	-.25
7	One trouble with Jewish businessmen . . .	.22
30	Big companies control too much of American business.	.22
36	Participant in adult education	.03

Factor VI. Loneliness
Accounts for 8 percent of total explained variance.

20	. . . I am often a quite lonely person.	.35
15	People pretend to care about one another. . .	.32
4	I often wish I could act free and easy with people.	.31
12	I often worry that things might get worse . . .	.24
13	Only a few people are cut out for study . . .	.23
36	Participant in adult education	-.05

Factor VII. ?
Accounts for 7 percent of total explained variance.

Number	Item	Loading
27	A worker in a factory is worth as much . . .	.41
26	I'm more interested in hearing about the world . . .	.35
36	Participant in adult education	-.06
Factor VIII.	Self-Alienation Accounts for 12 percent of total explained variance.	
8	I can't say I look forward to each new day . . .	.36
23	It doesn't pay for a person to study too much . . .	.36
18	I come from a different background and have different tastes	.34
20	. . . I am often a quite lonely person.	.32
30	Big companies control too much of American business.	.32
7	One trouble with Jewish businessmen . . .	.26
36	Participant in adult education	-.01
Factor IX.	Thrifty unschooled anti-Unionists Accounts for 7 percent of total explained variance.	
34	Approves of installment buying.	-.36
29	. . . labor unions do this country more harm than good.	.31
17	. . . Carpentry and plumbing must be learned on the job. . .	.26
22	HS students should take art and music.	-.23
36	Participant in adult education	.01
Factor X.	? Accounts for 5 percent of total explained variance.	
35	This neighborhood is a friendly place to live in.	-.29
21	. . . a mistake ever to have Negroes as foremen . . .	.21
19	A little practical experience is worth all the books . . .	.20
36	Participant in adult education	.08

Appendix 4: QUESTIONNAIRES

Note:

FORM A was used to contact all households included in the sampling frame (see Appendix 1 for sampling details), and its purpose was to inquire whether men who met the requirements of the study resided in the household.

FORM B was then used to interview members of the household regarding these men, if any resided in the household. The data gathered by FORM B constitute the basis for the analysis presented in Part II of this monograph, and has been referred to as the Community Survey.

FORM C was used for the Matched Sample Survey, and the results are analyzed in Part III of this monograph.

The questionnaires used in the survey of institutions, reported in Chapter 3, have been excluded because of space and financial considerations, and because the results were used only minimally in this monograph.

FORM A

ADDRESS: ______________________________ APT. # __________

PHONE: ______________________________

1. PHONE INTERVIEWS ONLY: Is this a one-family house, an apartment, or something else? (What? ______________)

____One-Family House
____Duplex, two-family
____Apartment, Flat
____Other (SPECIFY)

2. ASK EVERYONE: Would you please tell me how many adults--that is, persons over 20--live there, starting with the head of the household? FILL IN BELOW

ASK FOR EACH MALE: i) Is he a full-time student?

ii) How old is he?

FILL IN :	RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD	SEX	AGE
a.	____________________	M F	____
b.	____________________	M F	____
c.	____________________	M F	____
d.	____________________	M F	____
e.	____________________	M F	____

INDICATE INFORMANT: ____________________

INSTRUCTIONS: If there are sample males (i.e., males between the ages of 21-59 who are not full-time students) in the household, continue with a questionnaire for each male. If there are no "sample" males in the household, terminate the interview.

CALL RECORD:

CALL	DATE	TIME	Int'r #	Outcome
First				
Second				
Third				
Fourth				

# SAMPLE MALES
(non-student, age 21-59)

____None
____One
____Two
____Three
____Four or more
____DK, NA, Refusal

LENGTH OF FINAL CALL

____Less than 5 minutes
____5 to 9 minutes
____10 to 14 minutes
____15 minutes or more
____NAH, Refusal

OUTCOME OF FINAL CALL

____Completed by phone
____Completed by personal interview
____Not at Home
____Refusal
____Vacant House

TOTAL # OF CALLS MADE

____One
____Two
____Three
____Four
____Five
____Six
____Seven or more

FORM B

NAME (Include Relationship to Head of Household) ________________________

ADDRESS ________________________ APT. # ______ PHONE ____________

TO BE ASKED OF SAMPLE MALES (age 21-59 and not a full-time student)
IF INFORMANT IS NOT THE "SAMPLE MALE", SUBSTITUTE PRONOUNS APPROPRIATELY

1. On the average, about how many hours a day do you watch TV?

____Not at all (or NO TV)
____Some, but less than 1/2 hour
____1/2 up to 2 hours
____2 up to 4 hours
____4 hours or more
____DK, NA, Refusal

2. About how many times a week do you visit with neighbors or relatives in your home or in their homes?

____More than twice a week
____Usually once or twice a week
____Once or twice a month
____A few times a year or less
____DK, NA, Refusal

3a. Some people take classes or instruction of one kind or another in their spare time. How about you: Do you happen to be attending any classes or series of lectures, or do you participate in a regular discussion group?

____Yes ____No

IF YES: Which, specifically, classes, lecture series, or discussion groups?

____Classes ____Lecture series ____Discussion groups

3b. Are you taking any private lessons, such as golf lessons or piano lessons?

____Yes ____No

3c. What about correspondence courses or TV courses: Are you taking any of them?

____Yes ____No

3d. IF NO TO 3a, 3b, and 3c: Have you taken part in any such educational activities, or in things like an educational workshop or conference, in the last few months?

____Yes ____No

TYPE OF ACTIVITY-CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

____Classes or Courses
____Lecture Series
____Discussion Groups
____Private Lessons
____Correspondence Courses
____TV Courses
____Nonparticipant (NO to Questions 3a-3d)
____DK, NA, Refusal

INSTRUCTIONS: If Sample Male is a participant, ask Questions 4-8; if he is a non-participant, skip to Question 9.

FORM B

4. What is . . . (TYPE OF ACTIVITY) about?

	Course -Class	Lecture Series	Discussion Group	Private Lessons	Correspondence Course	TV Course
Manual Skills						
Professional, Admin., & Office Skills						
Hobbies and Home Arts						
Citizenship						
Liberal Arts						
Performing Arts						
Moral-Religious						
Interpersonal Relations						
Recreational Skills						
Other (SPECIFY)						
Not Active in TYPE:						
DK, NA, Refusal						

5. Are you taking it to help you on your present job, to help you get a different job, or doesn't it have any connection with your work?

	Course -Class	Lecture Series	Discussion Group	Private Lessons	Correspondence Course	TV Course
To help on present job						
To help on different job						
Not connected with jobs						
Not Active in TYPE:						
DK, NA, Refusal						

FORM B

6. About how often does it meet?
IF TAKING CORRESPONDENCE COURSES: How often do you submit lessons?

	Course -class	Lecture Series	Discussion Group	Private Lessons	Correspondence Course	TV Course
Once a week or more often						
About twice a month						
Monthly						
Other (SPECIFY)						
Not Active in TYPE:						
DK, NA, Refusal						

7. About how many times will it meet before it is all over?
IF TAKING CORRESP. COURSES OR PRIVATE LESSONS: How many lessons will there be in all?

	Course -class	Lecture Series	Discussion Group	Private Lessons	Correspondence Course	TV Course
3 meetings or less (TO BE RECORDED AS NON-PARTICIPANT)						
Four to nine meetings						
Ten meetings or more						
Not Active in TYPE:						
DK, NA, Refusal						

8. What school or other group puts on this educational program?

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	SPONSORING AGENCY
Class or course	
Lecture series	
Discussion group	
Private lessons	
Correspondence course	
TV Course	

FORM B

9. What is your favorite leisure time activity? ____________________

10. Now I would like to ask just a few questions about your background. What is your present marital status?

____Single
____Married
____Separated
____Widowed
____Divorced
____NA, Ref.

11. How many years of schooling have you completed?

____1 to 4 years
____5 to 8 years
____9 years
____10 to 11 years
____12 years (grad.)
____College: 1 to 3 years
____College grad. (4 years)

12. Are you presently employed? IF YES: Is that full-time or part-time?

____Employed full-time
____Employed part-time
____Unemployed: laid off temporarily
____Unempl., out of a job
____Retired

13. What kind of work do you do?

____

14. Do you supervise others as part of your work? IF YES: About how many?

____

15. Where do you work? (What does the Company make?)

____

16. About what was your total family income last year: less than $4000, between $4000 and $7000, between $7000 and $10,000, or more than $10,000?

____Under $4000
____$4000 to $7000
____$7000 to $10,000
____More than $10,000
____Refusal

17. ASK ON PHONE INTERVIEWS ONLY, PERSONAL INTERVIEWS BY OBSERVATION: Finally, what is your race: White, Negro, Oriental, or some other?

____White
____Negro
____Oriental
____Other (Specify)

____Refusal

FORM B

TRANSFER FROM FORM A:

Age:

____21 to 29
____30 to 39
____40 to 49
____50 to 59
____Refusal
(but between 21-59)

Informant:

____Sample male, subject of interview
____Other male member of family
____Wife of subject of interview
____Other female member of family
____Maid, housekeeper
____Landlady, landlord
____Other (specify)

BY OBSERVATION or TRANSFER FROM BLOCK LISTING SHEET:

Description of neighborhood:

____Luxurious or almost so
____Comfortable
____Adequate
____Declining
____Slummy

FORM C

1. People spend their leisure time in many different ways, like going to the movies, gardening or bowling. About how often do you go to the movies (HAND CARD I), once a week or more, one to three times a month, several times a year or less, or never?

How often do you ____________

	1/week or more	1-3 times a mo.	Sev. times a yr.	1/year or less	Never
(a) Go to the movies?......................					
(b) Work in your garden?..................					
(c) Go bowling?..........................					
(d) Go hunting, fishing, or camping?........					
(e) Take part in outdoor sports?............					
(f) Attend concerts or plays?...............					
(g) Repair and improve things around the house?........................					
(h) Do crafts, art work or play music?......					
(i) Go to a bar or tavern?..................					
(j) Go to parties?.........................					
(k) Go out to watch baseball or football games?............................					
(l) Spend an evening reading a book or paperback?............................					

FORM C

2. Are there other things you do in your free time that we haven't talked about?

____Yes ____No

IF YES:

(a) What kinds of things?
(b) How often do you ___________?

KINDS OF ACTIVITIES	1/week or more	1-3 times a mo.	Sev. times a yr.	1/year or less
(m)				
(n)				
(o)				
(p)				

3. About how often do you visit with people in your neighborhood, once a week or more, one to three times a month, several times a year, about once a year or less, or never?

How often do you visit with __________?	1/week or more	1-3 times a mo.	Sev. times a yr.	1/year or less	Never
(a) People in your neighborhood?.......					
(b) Relatives who don't live with you?...					
(c) People who work where you do?.....					
(d) People in your line of work who work elsewhere?.................					
(e) Other friends we haven't talked about?..........................					

4a. About how many hours do you watch TV on an average weekend, including both Saturday and Sunday?

____None
____Less than 1/2 hour
____One-half to 2 hours
____Two up to 4 hours
____Four up to 6 hours
____Six up to 8 hours
____Eight hours or more
____No TV (SKIP TO Q. 5)

FORM C

4b. And on weekdays, about how many hours on an average weekday or evening do you watch TV?

____None
____Less than 1/2 hour
____One-half up to 2 hours
____Two up to 4 hours
____Four up to 6 hours
____Six or more hours

IF WATCHES TV:
4c. (HAND CARD II) On this card is a list of some TV programs. Would you please read each one and tell me if you watch it regularly, that is every week or every other week, occasionally, or never? (PROBE: Do you watch it every week or every other week?)

	Reg.	Occas.	Never
M Squad			
Alfred Hitchcock			
Wyatt Earp			
Steve Allen			
Play of the Week			
Dr. Kildare			
The Real McCoys			
International Show Time			
Rawhide			

	Reg.	Occas.	Never
Divorce Court			
Lawrence Welk			
Meet the Press			
Ed Sullivan			
Bonanza			
Candid Camera			
Movies			
Wrestling			
Football in Season			
Anything on KQED			

ASK EVERYONE:

5. Which, if any, newspapers do you read regularly?

(Any Others?)____________________

____

____

____None
____Oakland Tribune
____S. F. Chronicle
____S. F. Examiner
____S. F. News-Call Bulletin
____Christian Science Mon.
____New York Times

6. Which, if any, magazines do you read regularly?

____

(Any Others?)____________________

FORM C

7. Have you read any library books in the last four months?
____Yes
____No

8. Have you bought any books or paperbacks in the last four months?
____Yes
____No

9. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations, such as a union, lodge, church group, political organization, PTA, or social club?
____Yes
____No

IF YES:

(a) Which ones?

____

(Any others?)____

(b) Have you ever been an officer of any of these groups?
____Yes
____No

(c) Thinking of all the organizations you belong to, about how many meetings do you usually go to in a month?
____(Number)

ASK EVERYONE:

10. Are you now working, looking for work, retired or something else?
____Working
____Looking for work
____Retired
____Other (SPECIFY)

IF SOMETHING ELSE:

(a) What?________________________________

ASK IF NOT NOW WORKING:

(b) How long have you been unemployed? (retired?)
____Less than 2 mos.
____Two to 6 mos.
____Six mos. to 1 year
____One year or more

ASK EVERYONE (IF RETIRED, UNEMPLOYED, OR LAID OFF, ASK FOR LAST JOB):

11a. Do you work for yourself or someone else?
____Self
____Someone else

11b. In what kind of business or industry do (did) you work?

____

FORM C

11c. What kind of work do you do (did you do on your last job)?

____

12. How many people work for (you) your employer? (Would that be fewer than 25, between 25 and 100, or more than 100?)

____Fewer than 25
____25 to 100
____More than 100

13. Do (did) you supervise anyone on the job?

____Yes
____No

IF YES:

(a) How many do (did) you supervise?

____One to five
____Six to 20
____21 to 50
____Over 50

14. Have you been in the same line of work for the last ten years?

____Yes
____No

15. Thinking about the future, would you rather stay in your present line of work or would you prefer to go into a different line of work?

____Present line
____Different line

IF DIFFERENT LINE:

(a) What kind of work would you prefer to go into?

____

16. About how long have you worked for your present employer?
IF SELF-EMPLOYED: How long have you been in your present business?

__________Years (or______Months)

IF LESS THAN 10 YEARS:

17. How many different employers have you worked for in the last 10 years?

________Number

18. Thinking over the last 10 years, what was the longest time you were unemployed and looking for a job?

__________Months(or______Weeks)

FORM C

ASK EVERYONE:

19. Thinking now of all the jobs you've had, would you consider your present (last) job to be the best job you've had?

____Yes
____No

(a) Why do you feel this way?

____

____

20a. Here are some things people find important in saying how good a job is. Which one is most important to you? (HAND CARD IV)

____A: Friendly people to work with
____B: Chances for advancement
____C: Freedom from close supervision
____D: Income
____E: Interesting work
____F: Steady work

20b. Which of them is next most important to you ?

____A: Friendly people to work with
____B: Chances for advancement
____C: Freedom from close supervision
____D: Income
____E: Interesting work
____F: Steady work

IF SELF-EMPLOYED, SKIP Q. 21

21a. Have you ever been in business for yourself?

____Yes
____No

IF NO:

21b. Have you ever seriously thought of going into business for yourself?

____Yes
____No

INTERVIEWER:

IF NOT NOW WORKING, SKIP TO Q. 40

IF NOW WORKING, CONTINUE WITH Q. 22

FORM C

IF WORKING:

22. In what city do you work?

____Oakland
____Berkeley
____San Francisco
____Albany, Richmond (north)
____San Leandro (south)

23. About how long does it usually take you to travel home from work?

________Minutes

24. What time do you start and stop work on a regular weekday?

START:________STOP:________

25. About how many hours a week do you usually work on your present job, including overtime and time put in on weekends?

______Hours

26. Do you do any studying at home for your job?

____Yes
____No

IF YES:
(a) Is this required, or are you doing it on your own?

____Required
____Doing it on own
____Both

27. While you are on the job, do you wish you had more chance to "shoot the breeze" with people you work with?

____Yes
____No

28. Do you feel fairly secure about keeping your present job (business) or is there some chance that you will lose it (get out of it) in the next year or so?

____Feel secure
____Will lose (get out of) it

FORM C

29. Would you say that you enjoy your present job a great deal, somewhat, very little, or not at all?

____A great deal
____Somewhat
____Very little
____Not at all

IF SELF-EMPLOYED, SKIP TO Q. 33

30. Do you feel that your work is supervised very closely, somewhat closely, or not at all closely?

____Very closely
____Somewhat closely
____Not at all closely

31. Have you had any other job with your present employer besides the one you now have?

____Yes
____No

32. Would you say your chances of promotion in the next few years are excellent, good, fair, or poor?

____Excellent
____Good
____Fair
____Poor

33. Here is a list of a few things that some people feel are important for advancement in various companies. (HAND CARD III) Which of these things do you think should be most important for advancement?

____A: Education
____B: Doing well on job
____C: Seniority
____D: Knowing the right people
____E: Ability to get along with others

34. Now, thinking of your own place of work, which one of these actually is most important for advancement?

____A: Education
____B: Doing well on job
____C: Seniority
____D: Knowing the right people
____E: Ability to get along with others

35. Which of these is least important: ____(SEE CODE ABOVE)

FORM C

36. Do you think that people in general think the job you have is a good one?

____Yes
____No

37. Besides your main job, do you do any other work for pay?

____Yes
____No

IF YES:
(a) About how many hours a week do you do this?

____Less than 5 hours
____Five-9.99 hours
____Ten-19.99 hours
____Twenty-29.99 hours
____Thirty hours or more

38. Suppose you were forced to change your line of work because of the development of new machines. How difficult do you think it would be for you to learn a new occupation--very difficult, somewhat difficult, or not at all difficult?

____Very difficult
____Somewhat difficult
____Not at all difficult

39a. Suppose you were to inherit enough money to live on comfortably for the rest of your life. Do you think you would keep on working for pay or not?

____Keep on working (ASK b)
____Not work (ASK c)

IF WOULD KEEP ON WORKING:

(b) Why do you feel this way?

____

____

IF WOULD NOT WORK:

(c) What would you do?

____

____

FORM C

ASK EVERYONE:

40. What is the highest grade you completed in school?

____None; 0-4th grade
____Fifth-Eighth grade
____Ninth grade
____Tenth-Eleventh grade
____Twelfth grade (grad. H.S.)
____One year of college
____Two-three years college
____Four years college; BA
____MA;Phd;MD; advance degree
____Business school

IF FOUR OR MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE:

(a) What is the highest degree you have?

IF ONE OR MORE YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL:

(b) When you were in high school did you take a vocational training program, a college preparatory program, or something else?

____Vocational
____College preparatory
____Something else: SPECIFY:

____

41. Have you ever been a full-time student at a trade school, business school, or some other kind of special school?

____Yes
____No

IF YES:

(a) What kind of school?

____

42. Were you glad to get out of school (college) when you did, or would you have liked to continue in school or college?

____Glad to get out when did
____Would have liked to continue

FORM C

43. Did your parents want you to get more education, less education, or just about what you did get?

____More education
____Less education
____Just what did get
____Didn't care one way or another

44. Looking back to when you were in school, how well did you usually do; would you say you were better than average, about average, or somewhat below average?

____Better than average
____About average
____Somewhat below average

45. How well did you like school; did you like it very much like it a little, dislike it somewhat, or dislike it very much?

____Liked very much
____Liked a little
____Disliked somewhat
____Disliked very much

46. If it were now possible, would you want to become a full-time student at some school or college?

____Yes
____No

47. Some people say that most of what they learned in school wasn't necessary for the work they do now. Is this true or not true for you?

____True for me
____Not true for me

48. Thinking back to the time you were in grade school and high school, do you remember any teachers who encouraged you and made you more interested in school?

____Yes
____No

49. Do you remember any teachers who discouraged you and made you less interested in school?

____Yes
____No

FORM C

50. Would you say you have had more education, about the same, or less education than most of your friends?

____More education
____Same
____Less education
____More than some, less than others

51. Could you tell me the names of any places in Oakland where you could attend classes or take courses in your free time if you wanted to?

____Yes
____No

IF YES:

(a) What are they?

____

(Any others?)________________________________

52. Thinking back over the time since you left school, have you ever taken any courses or lessons like those on this list (HAND CARD V)?

____Yes
____No (SKIP TO Q. 69)

CARD V:

Night School Courses
Correspondence Courses
Private Lessons
Discussion Groups
TV Courses
Workshops or Conferences

IF YES:

(a) Have you ever received a diploma, degree, or certificate for any of this special training?

____Yes
____No

IF YES TO (a): What did you receive? ____________________

(b) Has any of the special training you mentioned been within the last five years?

____Yes
____No (SKIP TO Q. 62)

FORM C

53. I would like to ask you a few questions about the courses you are taking or have taken in the last five years.

(a) Starting with the most recent course, what was it about?

A. ______________________________

(b) Have you taken any other courses in the last five years? IF YES: What were they about?

B. ______________________________

C. ______________________________

D. ______________________________

E. ______________________________

(c) About how many other courses have you taken in the last five years?

__________(Number)

ASK FOR EACH OF THE COURSES LISTED ABOVE (A-E):

(d) Was __________ a class, correspondence course, TV course, discussion group, private lessons, or what?

	A	B	C	D	E
Class					
Corresp. or TV					
Discuss. group					
Pvt. lessons					
Other:					

(e) What school or group gave this course in __________________?

A. ______________________________

B. ______________________________

C. ______________________________

D. ______________________________

E. ______________________________

(f) In what city was this course given?

	A	B	C	D	E
Oakland					
Berkeley					
San Francisco					
Other:					

FORM C

(g) How many meetings were there in all?

	A	B	C	D	E
One to three					
Four to nine					
Ten to fourteen					
Fifteen or more					

(h) Did you take ________ to help get a degree, diploma, or certificate?

	A	B	C	D	E
Yes (WHAT ?)					
No					

(i) Did you take ________ to help you on the job you had, to help get a different job, or did it have no connection with work?

	A	B	C	D	E
Help on the job					
Get different job					
No connection					

(j) Did you take ________ sometime since last September?

	A	B	C	D	E
Yes					
No					

IF YES FOR ANY: CONTINUE WITH NEXT QUESTION
IF NO FOR ALL: SKIP TO Q. 62

ASK RECENT PARTICIPANTS (IF TAKEN COURSE SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER):

54. Coming back to your most recent subject, ____________, about how much, if any, were the fees or tuition?

____No fees or tuition
____Less than $5.00
____$5.00 - $14.99
____$15.00 - $39.99
____$40.00 or more

IF FEES OR TUITION: (a) Did you pay the fees or did someone else?

____R paid fees
____Someone else paid

FORM C

IF SOMEONE ELSE PAID FEES:

(i) Who paid the fees? ____________________________________

IF TV OR CORRESPONDENCE COURSE, SKIP TO Q. 60

ASK ALL OTHERS:

55. On the average how long does it take you to get to and from your class?

_____Minutes each way

56. How many of the last four meetings did you attend?

_____None
_____One
_____Two
_____Three
_____Four; all of them

57. Do you feel the other students started the course in __________knowing more, about the same, or less than you did about that subject?

_____More
_____Same
_____Less
_____Don't know

58. Do you have to study at home at all for your course?

_____Yes

_____No

59. Were any members of your class people you knew before you started the class?

_____Yes

_____No

FORM C

60. How did you hear about this course? (HAND CARD VI) This list may help you recall how you heard about the course.

____Radio or TV
____Neighbors or friends
____Letter brought home by school child
____Newspapers or magazines
____Poster display in the community
____Employer or supervisor at work
____Other people at work
____Announcement received in the mail
____Someone who had taken courses before
____Pamphlet or brochure

Other: ________________________

61. As far as you can recall, how are you as a student now as compared to the time when you were younger and a full-time student; are you better, about the same now, or were you better before?

____Better now
____About the same
____Better before

ASK ALL PARTICIPANTS:

62. What were some of your reasons for taking courses? (What other reasons?)

____

____

____

63. All told, how satisfied have you been with the courses you have taken -- very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

____Very satisfied
____Somewhat satisfied
____Somewhat dissatisfied
____Very dissatisfied

64. What have you disliked about the courses you have taken?

____

____

____

FORM C

65. Do you plan to take any more courses in the next year or so?

____Yes
____No

66. How would you say your family has felt about your taking a course, are they strongly against it, mildly against it, mildly for it or strongly for it?

____Strongly against it
____Mildly against it
____Mildly for it
____Strongly for it

67. Have your friends ever discouraged or kidded you about spending your free time this way?

____Yes
____No

68. Do any of your friends take any courses?

____Yes
____No

FOR PARTICIPANTS SKIP TO Q. 72a

ASK NON-PARTICIPANTS ONLY:

69. If you had the time do you think you would want to take some course or classes during your free time now or in the next few years?

____Yes
____No

70. Do any of your friends take any courses or classes?

____Yes
____No

FORM C

71. Surveys have shown that very few people take courses or classes in their free time. Here are a few of the reasons people have given for not taking courses. (HAND CARD VII) Please read each statement and tell me whether or not it applies to you.

	Applies	Doesn't Apply
A. "The things I have heard about don't sound very interesting."		
B. "I can learn what I need to know without going out to classes."		
C. "I'm too busy with other things and just don't have the time."		
D. "I'm usually too tired at night to go out to classes."		
E. "I'd feel kind of childish going out to classes at night."		
F. "I'm not the bookish type."		
G. "I'm probably too old to go back to school."		
H. "I couldn't afford the money it would probably cost."		
I. "My family would probably object to my spending time in classes and studying."		

72a. There are certain things some people feel the government should spend more money on. Which one of these (*HAND CARD VIII*) would you most like to see the national or local government spend more money on?

____Roads and Freeways
____Museums
____Schools
____Medical care for aged
____Adult education

72b. Which one would you least like to see more money spent on?

____Roads and Freeways
____Museums
____Schools
____Medical care for aged
____Adult education

FORM C

73. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Agree	Disagree
(a) "The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good."		
(b) "Big companies control too much of American business."		
(c) "Only those with the best educations should hold offices in government."		
(d) "Communists in our colleges and universities are a serious threat to our youth."		

74. Who would you favor [illegible]overnor of California if Nixon and Brown were the candidates?

____Nixon
____Brown
____Other: SPECIFY:

____

75. Do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or what?

____Democrat
____Republican
____Independent
____Other: SPECIFY:

____

76. Do you ever gamble for money?

____Yes
____No

IF YES:

(a) Do you ever gamble enough so that you might really make or lose a lot of money at it?

____Yes
____No

77. About how often do you have a drink of beer, wine, or liquor: almost every day, once or twice a week, one to three times a month, a few times a year, or never?

____Almost every day
____Once a week
____One to 3 times a month
____A few times a year
____Never

FORM C

78a. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD IX) Although all of these things are important, which one would you say has given you most satisfaction in life?

____My work
____My family
____My friends
____My hobbies and interests

78b. Which has given you second most satisfaction?

____My work
____My family
____My friends
____My hobbies and interests

79X. If you were asked to name your social class, which of these four would you say you belonged to -- upper class, middle class, working class, or lower class?

____Upper class
____Middle class
____Working class
____Lower class

79. Are you presently married, widowed, divorced, separated or single?

____Married
____Widowed
____Divorced
____Separated
____Single

IF EVER MARRIED:

(a) Is (was) this your first marriage?

____Yes
____No

80. IF NOW MARRIED:

(a) Where was your wife born? ______________________________
(State, or country if foreign born)

(b) What is the highest grade your wife completed in school?

____No formal education
____Grades 1 - 4
____Grades 5 - 8
____Grade 9
____Grades 10 - 11
____Grade 12 (grad. from H.S.)
____College 1 - 3 years
____College 4 years, grad.
____Post Grad.-MA, PhD, MD.

FORM C

(c) Does she have a job outside the home?

____Yes
____No

IF NO, SKIP TO Q. 81

IF YES:

(i) What kind of work does she do?

____

(ii) Does she work full-time or part-time?

____Full-time
____Part-time

ASK EVERYONE:

81. Who else lives here in this household? (RECORD ON CHART BELOW)

82. What is the age and sex of each household member? (RECORD ON CHART BELOW)

RECORD RELATIONSHIP TO RESPONDENT, AGE, AND SEX

Relationship to Respondent	Age	Sex
1 Respondent		M F
2		M F
3		M F
4		M F
5		M F

FORM C

IF EVER MARRIED:

83. Do you have any children living away from home?

____Yes
____No

IF YES:

(a) What is the age and sex of each of these children away from home?

RECORD FOR CHILDREN LIVING AWAY FROM HOME

	Age	Sex
1		M F
2		M F
3		M F

IF ANY CHILDREN (AT HOME OR AWAY FROM HOME):

84. What do you miss most in life that you would like your children to have?

____

____

IF ANY CHILDREN:

85. How many of your children living with you are in school? ____________

IF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL:

(a) Do you help them (him) with their (his) school work?

____Yes
____No

(b) By and large, do you think they like school more than most children, less than most, or about the same as most?

____More than most
____Less than most
____The same as most

FORM C

IF ANY SONS:

86. About how much education do you want your son(s) to have?

____Through high school
____4 years college
____Professional education
____Don't care
____Up to them

ASK EVERYONE:

87. How many brothers and sisters did you have?____________

88. What kind of work did your father do for a living while you were growing up?

(a) In what kind of business or industry did he work?

____

(b) What kind of work did he do?

____

IF A FARMER ASK:

Did he own the land he farmed?

____Yes ____No

Was it a large farm or a small farm?

____Large ____Small ____About average

89. What was the highest grade your father completed in school?

____No formal education
____Grades 1-4
____Grades 5-8
____Grade 9
____Grades 10-11
____Grade 12 (finished H.S.)
____College 1 year
____College 2-3 years
____College-graduated BA
____College-advanced degree
____Don't know

IF GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE:

(a) What degree did he receive?

________________(degree)

FORM C

90. What was the highest grade your mother completed in school?

____No formal education
____Grades 1-4
____Grades 5-8
____Grade 9
____Grades 10-11
____Grade 12 (finished H.S.)
____College 1 year
____College 2-3 years
____College-graduated BA
____College-advanced degree
____Don't know

91. (a) Where was your father born?

____
(State, or country if foreign-born)

(b) Where was your mother born?

____
(State, or country if foreign-born)

(c) From what country did your ancestors mainly come?

____

92. Where were you born?

____
(State, or country if foreign-born)

93. Which of these best describes the kind of place you lived in when you were in your teens? (HAND CARD 1)

____On a farm
____In a small town
____In a medium-sized town
____In a small or medium-sized city
____In the suburbs of a big city
____In a big city

94. How many years have you lived in the Bay Area?____________________

95. How many years have you lived at your present address?____________________

96. Would you say this neighborhood is a friendly place to live in?

____Yes
____No

FORM C

97. What about the city or Oakland; compared with other cities you know about, would you say that Oakland is a better city to live in, about average, or below average?

____Better city to live in
____About average
____Below average

98. What is your religious preference?

____Protestant (SPECIFY)
____Catholic
____Jewish
____Other: SPECIFY__________
____None, agnostic, atheist

IF PROTESTANT:

(a) Which denomination?

____

99. Have you always been a __________________________?
(RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE)

____Yes
____No

IF NO:

(a) What else have you been?

____

100. About how often do you usually attend religious services?

____Once a week or more
____Two or three times a month
____About once a month
____A few times a year
____Rarely or never

IF ONCE A MONTH OR MORE:

(a) Do you go to Sunday School or take any religious instruction?

____Yes
____No

101. What was your total family income before taxes in 1961? (HAND CARD 2) Just give me the letter on this card.

_____A: Under $500
_____B: $500-$999
_____C: $1,000-$1,999
_____D: $2,000-$2,999
_____E: $3,000-$3,999
_____F: $4,000-$4,999
_____G: $5,000-$6,999
_____H: $7,000-$9,999
_____I: $10,000-$14,999
_____J: $15,000 or over

FORM C

102. In the next few years do you expect your income to increase, decrease, or remain about the same?

____Increase
____Decrease
____Remain same

103. What would you say is the smallest amount of money a family of four (husband, wife, and two children) needs each week to get along in Oakland?

$________per week

104. As you probably know, more and more people are buying things on the installment plan. On the whole, do you approve of installment buying or disapprove of it?

____Approve
____Disapprove

105. How many cars, if any, do you have in the family?

____None, no cars
____One
____Two
____Three
____Four or more

106. Do you own your home or do you rent?

____Owns home
____Rents home
____Other: SPECIFY:

____

FORM C

107. This is a different type of question. Please read the statement on each of these cards, and put those you agree with in one pile, and those you disagree with in the other.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
The most important thing in life is to be happy.			
It bothers me that I do not have more education.			
When a community pays a teacher's salary, it has the right to tell him exactly what and how to teach.			
I often wish I could act free and easy with people			
It is absolutely necessary to have a college education to be a success today.			
There is not much I can do to make my life happier and more satisfying than it is now.			
One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and connive, so that a Gentile doesn't have a fair chance in competition.			
I can't say I look forward to each new day with much pleasure.			
The real difference between people who succeed and those who don't is that the successful people have had the breaks. Getting to the top is more a matter of luck than ability.			
I prefer to be with well-educated people.			
The most important reason for going to school is to be able to get a better job than you could otherwise.			
I often worry that things might get worse for myself and my family.			
Only a few people are cut out for study after they leave school.			
Children who go to college are likely to fall away from the religion of their parents.			

FORM C

107. (cont'd)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
People pretend to care about one another more than they really do.			
In general I am very confident of my own ability to do things.			
Skills like carpentry and plumbing must be learned on the job and really cannot be taught in school.			
I come from a different background and have different tastes than most people I meet at work.			
A little practical experience is worth all the books put together.			
I may not always show it, but deep down I am often a quite lonely person.			
It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.			
All high school students should be required to take courses in art and music.			
It doesn't pay for a person to study too much--it only makes him dissatisfied and hard to live with.			
I feel that I have been successful in life.			
People lose the ability to learn as they get older.			
I'm more interested in hearing about the world I live in and how it works than in just having a good time.			
A worker in a factory is worth as much to society as a man in a profession.			
It bothers me to hear a lot of arguments that I really don't agree with.			

FORM C

BY OBSERVATION ONLY:

108. Race:

____White
____Negro
____Oriental
____Other: SPECIFY:
____

109. DESCRIPTION OF HOUSE:

(a) Outside of house or apartment:

____Luxurious
____New or large, not quite luxurious
____Small, modest, kept up nicely
____Run down, dirty

(b) Outside of house as compared with others in same block:

____Better than most
____Average
____Worse than most

(c) Inside of house:

____Very well furnished and neat
____Moderately furnished and neat
____Comfortable and kept-up but not elaborate
____Run-down, old, dirty

110. Date interview completed:
____

111. Thumbnail Sketch: (Use space below for any relevant comments)